

*Cardozo*

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NOTES AND COMMUNICATIONS

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## IN MEMORIAM—LEO BAECK

**R**ABBI DR. LEO BAECK, who died in London at the age of 83, was the last great representative of the German-Jewish tradition, and a scholar and theologian of rare distinction. His thinking was decisively shaped by the influence of two men : Wilhelm Dilthey, who taught him to understand history in the sense of "Geistesgeschichte," and Hermann Cohen, who fired him with the Jewish prophetic ideal. His "The Essence of Judaism" is the most mature utterance of modern Jewish theology. It has attained the rank of a classic, and is matched only by his last book, "Dieses Volk" (1955), which he began to write during the years of Nazi terror in Berlin and finished in the concentration camp of Theresienstadt.

In numerous essays—many of them collected in "Wege im Judentum," 1933—Baeck developed his essential vision of Judaism which is characterised by the balancing of the mystical and normative elements ("Geheimnis" and "Gebot") in the Jewish tradition. His approach is never purely analytical but guided by a sure grasp of essentials and by a deep sympathy. There is also about it an element of poetic creativity which gives an inimitable personal quality to his style of writing.

BaECK's contribution to Jewish scholarship consists in a series of important studies, chiefly in the fields of Rabbinic Hagadah and early Jewish mysticism. His "Zwei Beispiele midraschischer Predigt" (*MGWJ*, 1925) and "Hagadah and Christian Doctrine" (*HUCA*, 1950-1) deal with the relationship between Rabbinic homilies and Christian theology. In "Der Menschensohn" (*MGWJ*, 1937), he elucidates the character of the Jewish apocalyptic movement. In another study (*MGWJ* 1926), he traces the origin of *Sefer Yesirah* to Proclus. The Volume, "The Pharisees and other Essays" (1947) includes studies on Judaism in the Church, Greek and Jewish Preaching and many other subjects. Another collection of studies under the title, "Aus drei Jahrtausenden" (1938) was destroyed by the Gestapo immediately after its publication.

During the fateful years of Nazi persecution, Leo Baeck stood at the helm of German Jewry, and his unshakeable courage and

faith were among the most precious assets of the community. They did not fail him in the years he spent in the concentration camp, from which he emerged unbroken in body and spirit. He settled in London but divided his activities between England and the U.S.A., where his influence was pronounced. Well-deserved homage was paid to him on the occasion of his eightieth birthday : A Volume of Essays published in his honour contains tributes from the late Albert Einstein, Thomas Mann, Jacques Maritain and others.

The Editorial Board recalls with pride the late Dr. Baeck's association with the Journal both as a member of its Advisory Board and as a contributor. It deeply mourns the loss of this extraordinary man who embodied a great tradition with unfailing grace and humility. Those who enjoyed his personal friendship will treasure its memory among their choicest possessions. ת'נצ'בה

A. A.

## *Alexander Jannaeus and the Pharisees*

THE publication of a column from the *Pesher* on Nahum (PNa)<sup>1</sup> has for the first time provided references in the Dead Sea Scrolls to names and events later than the time of David.<sup>2</sup> For good measure we get two names, and references to three distinct events, separated from each other by periods of some eighty and thirty-five years respectively.

All these occur in the *pesher* on ii, 12b (A.V. 11b). We need not concern ourselves here with the text of the lemma, which the scroll has apparently understood as meaning "where a lion went to bring there a young lion," agreeing in the text with the Massoretic Bible (לביא) but in the manner of interpretation with LXX, Vulgate, and Peshitta, who saw here a verb (לבוא).

The remnants of the interpretation read as follows:

שרים מלך יון אשר בקש לבוא ירושלים בעצת דורשי החלקות	2
ים מלכי יון מאנתיכום עד עמוד מושלי כתיים ואחר תרמם	3
[ארי שורף] [ונו]	4

The missing first parts of the lines amount, as line 9 proves, to 25-30 letters, and more in the case of line 4. We are therefore not in the position to make even a guess at the connection between line 2 and line 3, nor to know which part of the preserved text belongs to the lemma 12<sup>o</sup>: "and none made them afraid." This, however, does not prevent us from offering with fair confidence a translation of the remains:

- 2                   ] tries the king of the Greeks who sought to come to Jerusalem by the counsel of the interpreters of smooth things
- 3                   ] . . the kings of the Greeks from Antiochus until the rulers of the Kittim took office,<sup>3</sup> and after . . .<sup>4</sup>

To deal first with the second reference: it shows clearly that PNa was written after the time of Antiochus ("from A. until . . ."), and that the line of the "kings of the Greeks" had been replaced

<sup>1</sup> = 4QpNahum, ed. J. Allegro, JBL 75 (1956) 89-95. I take this opportunity of thanking Mr. Allegro for allowing me to see his article in proof.

<sup>2</sup> CDC v. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. CDC i. 14; DSH viii. 9.

<sup>4</sup> The letters are not quite clear. As read by Allegro, the word would mean "she shall be trodden down," the subject being supplied in the missing first half of line 4. Perhaps it is "the kingdom of the Greeks"?



by another power with a different form of government, called "rulers," as they are also in DSH iv. 10 and 12. It seems impossible to see in these "Kittim" anything but the Romans. The Roman central authority is also called *moshelim* in B.T. Baba Qamma 38a. PNa must therefore have been written after 63 B.C.E. At present we can go no further.

For line 2, I cannot think of any possible alternative to the explanation advanced by the editor, J. Allegro, that it refers to the unsuccessful expedition of Demetrius Eucarios against Jannaeus about the year 88 B.C.E.<sup>1</sup> It hints at the failure by saying that he "sought" to reach Jerusalem, i.e. did not reach it, and agrees with Josephus in indicating that he was invited by a Jewish group, here called the "Interpreters of Smooth Things." Further corroboration of the view that line 2 refers to the events of 88 may be found in the same text, line 7: "death upon the interpreters of smooth things in that he hangs (יחליו) men alive," which seems to allude to Jannaeus' execution of 800 of his most obstinate opponents by impaling or crucifying (*anastaurōsas*) them (BJ I, iv. 6; Ant. XIII. xiv. 2). It must be admitted, however, that the use of the imperfect is strange<sup>2</sup>; perhaps after all this statement refers to a future event.

"Interpreters of Smooth Things" is applied as a name to the opponents of the Qumran Sect in the Thanksgiving Scroll (DST)<sup>3</sup> ii. 15. It is based on a sectarian variant reading in Isa. xxx, 10, quoted in this form also CDC i. 18, while all other texts, including DSIa, have there "speak for us smooth things." "Smooth things," of course, are lies, as in Prov. vii, 5, quoted DST iv. 7. DST contains many similar terms for the opponents: "interpreters of deceit" (ii. 34); "orators (מליצי) of deceit" (iv. 7); "orators of lies" (ii. 31, iv. 9-10); "orators of error" (ii. 14); "prophets of lies" (iv. 16, cf. CDC vi. 1); "seers of error" (iv. 20); "seers of deceit" (iv. 10); "who persuaded to error" (iv. 16); "heralds of sin" (v. 36); or simply "men of deceit" (ii. 16; iv. 20).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The date—within a range of two years—is fixed by Schürer, *Geschichte* etc., 4th ed., I, 282. It seems difficult to apply the reference to Demetrius I Soter, who did not come himself, but sent Bacchides and Nicanor, both of whom actually entered Jerusalem.

<sup>2</sup> Allegro's rendering, "used to hang," ignores the fact that Jos. describes the whole execution as something extraordinary.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. E. L. Sukenik, *Oṣar ha-Megilloth ha-Genuzoth*, Jerusalem 1955.

<sup>4</sup> Note that DST and PNa talk of a group of false teachers, DSH and CDC of a single "teacher of lies."

It seems thus as certain as we can be of anything pertaining to the scrolls that the chief opponents of the Qumran Sect were also Jannaeus' opponents who had called in Demetrius and upon whom he took such terrible vengeance. It need hardly be pointed out that identifying the opponents of the sect would be an important step towards identifying the sect itself. It would exclude once and for all one of the known sects from being the Qumran sect, but it might well do more, since we are well enough informed about the sectarian quarrels to recognize the primary opponents of each.

Modern authors seem to be unanimous in making the Pharisees the leading element in the opposition to Jannaeus. Schürer<sup>1</sup> says in so many words that it was the Pharisees who invited Demetrius.

We are not told by our sources that there was any quarrel between Pharisees and Essenes. We must therefore either assume that such a tension existed<sup>2</sup> or we must identify the Qumran Sect, as has recently been proposed by A. M. Habermann,<sup>3</sup> with the Sadducees. Both assumptions offer considerable difficulties, and it is therefore desirable to investigate whether the text of Josephus, our only source for the Demetrius episode, does in fact force us to the conclusion that Jannaeus fought against the Pharisees.

It is necessary to compare both the text of the *Wars* and the later, extended and more deliberate version offered by the *Antiquities*. I may be forgiven for making use also of the Slavonic text of the *Wars*<sup>4</sup> (Sl.) without entering into the thorny problem of its antecedents.

The remarkable fact is that in the whole story of Jannaeus' quarrels with his people the Pharisees are not once mentioned by name. We can distinguish three principal phases:

(1) The revolt during the Succoth festival, when 6,000 were killed. *Wars* I. iv. 3 states that Jewry (*to Ioudaikon*, Sl. *zhidove*) rose against him. *Ant.* XIII. xiii. 5 says that "his own people (*tōn oikeiōn*) revolted, for the people (*to ethnos*) rose against him while a festival was being celebrated." The text of *Ant.* strongly suggests that the 6,000 were killed during the festival itself, i.e.

<sup>1</sup> *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> This has, of course, been assumed by those 19th-century scholars who saw in the *minim* of Talmudic literature the Essenes.

<sup>3</sup> In several articles in the daily *Haaretz*.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. V. Istrin and P. Pascal, *La prise de Jerusalem*, Paris 1934.



consisted of the crowd attending the temple service. This points to a popular outbreak of indignation rather than to organized Pharisee opposition. If the story about the "Sadducee" who was pelted with citrons in B.T. *Succah* 48b really refers to Jannaeus, then the phrase used there, "all the people," would confirm this view.

(2) The revolt after his flight from Arabia, when 50,000 were killed. BJ ib. 4 says that the people (*to ethnos*, Sl.: the Jews) were provoked into rebellion by the magnitude of the disaster. Ant. also speaks of "the people," adding that the rebellion lasted for 6 years. The reason for the revolt is given in the words *pros tēn kakopragian autou*, which could mean either "because of his ill-luck," as *symphora* in BJ, or "because of his misdeeds," in which latter case a religious reason for the revolt might be hinted at. The meaning "misdeeds" seems to be typical for Josephus, but I doubt if it can be applied in this passage, as the *kakopragia* of Jannaeus is too reminiscent of the *eupragia* of his father (in BJ I. ii. 8; Ant. XIII. x. 5) not to be suspect of being a rhetorical contrast at long range.

In the curious episode about the parley between Jannaeus and the people, Schürer is quite sure that the other party to the talk were the Pharisees "who wished to exploit the situation for a complete victory for their party." In fact BJ speaks of his subjects (*tous hypotetagmenous*) while Ant. is phrased so as to avoid indicating any group, but goes on to say that "all" cried that he ought to die.

We would naturally expect this particular episode to provide some indication of the reasons why the people were prepared to sacrifice their lives in opposing the king. BJ is curiously reticent: "even by death they would hardly be reconciled to one who had done such things" (*tō tosauta drasanti*); Sl. deviates rather strongly: "while you are alive we cannot make peace with you." In Ant., which is generally so eager to enlarge upon rhetorical interludes, the people's answer is cut down to the first word "that he should die," and the story hurries on to the invitation of Demetrius. Surely this would have been the place to introduce the question of the legitimacy of Hasmonean high-priesthood, or else the religious differences. Moreover, a group with grievances of the kind ascribed by historians to the Pharisees should have demanded resignation, not immolation. Josephus evidently



wishes to depict here popular fury rather than party intrigues.

(3) Both Ant., with its *kai*, and even more BJ with its *hama* "forthwith," imply that the invitation to Demetrius arose out of the parley and was due to the same group. BJ calls those who joined him *hoi Ioudaioi*; Sl. has simply "they," and Ant. xiv. 1 only speaks of "those who had invited him." It should be pointed out that there is some disagreement about the timing. BJ says that the Jewish rebels joined Demetrius "near Sichem," while the language of Ant. suggests that they joined him further north: "coming with his army and taking with him those who had invited him, he proceeded to near Sichem." Sl. omits all mention of Sichem, and resembles Ant. rather than BJ: "and having joined forces, they went forth against king Alexander."

The events after the abortive victory of Demetrius are rather less clear than generally described by historians. There is no clear statement that 6,000 men changed sides.<sup>1</sup> BJ (iv. 5) only says that "those who had invited Demetrius did not remain with him," continuing not with *alla* "but," but with *kai*, as if the reinforcements for Jannaeus were an entirely different event. This suggests that it was not a defection to Jannaeus, but the usual spectacle of a peasant army dispersing to their homes as soon as the immediate object has been attained. Ant. does not mention the defection from Demetrius at all, which would hardly be possible if Josephus had meant to say that the 6,000 changed sides. Here, however, Sl. is unusually explicit: "but the Jews regretted having called him to their assistance, and 6,000 of their best ones set about joining Alexander." Here the historians' conception is written into the text. It will depend upon our view of the origins of the Slavonic version whether we consider this Josephus' original text, altered for some reason in the Greek version, or take it as an improvement of the Slavonic translator on his text. It matters little to our general argument.

Those who continued the fight after Demetrius' withdrawal are called in BJ iv. 6 "the remaining crowd" (*to loipon plēthos*). This Sl. surprisingly renders by "the ordinary people" (*prostii lyudiye*), who "attacked Jannaeus after the warriors (*ōruzhniki*) had left him alone." Ant. simply says that "thereafter the Jews fought Alexander," apparently wishing to imply that the whole people were still against him.

<sup>1</sup> As is stated by Schürer: "gingen zu Alexander über."

The episode of the execution of the 800 contains no terms which can be of help here. The 8,000 who fled after this outrage are called "rebels" by all versions of the story.

Thus Josephus nowhere defines the party opposing Jannaeus: he certainly does not say that they were Pharisees, nor does any episode exhibit features which would enable us to point to Pharisee views or characteristics. The significance of Josephus' silence emerges from a comparison with the versions of the story of John Hyrcanus, BJ I. ii. 8, Ant. XIII x. 5:

BJ	Slav.	Ant.
Envy of their success aroused against John and his sons a rebellion of their countrymen ( <i>tōnepichōriōn</i> <sup>1</sup> ), and many, having met to oppose them, did not keep quiet, until, having been stirred into open war, they were defeated.	The great men of the city ( <i>bolyare gradstii</i> ) having seen the successes of Hyrcanus and his sons and grown envious, rebelled against them, but Hyrcanus defeated their army and dispersed them.	Success caused envy of Hyrcanus among the Jews; most of all the Pharisees were evilly disposed towards him [follows the story of how he fell out with the Pharisees] . . . 7. But when Hyrcanus had stopped the rebellion. . .

True, here also we find no definition of the opponents in BJ, but the omission is made good in Ant., which not only names them, but also explains why that particular group opposed Hyrcanus. It is difficult to account for the "great men" of Slav.: it may be a mere guess at *epichōrioi*, the translator assuming that the ones most likely to be envious of the king would be the feudal lords (Russian "Boyars")—or it may represent a tradition closer to the "Pharisees" of Ant.<sup>2</sup> We may explain the vagueness of the account in BJ by Josephus' desire not to saddle the reader with unnecessary terminology, while in Ant., where the existence of the Pharisees had already been mentioned, they could be reintroduced here, if only for the sake of the story. But

<sup>1</sup> Sophocles' *Lexicon* quotes a Strabo passage where the word means the same as *apaideutoi*, and states that in Byzantine usage it meant "villagers." It might be considered whether in our passage it does not translate the Hebrew 'am ha-areṣ, i.e. the common people not adhering to any of the great religious parties.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the Slavonic translator's text had here the same word which Ant. used of the Pharisee leaders.

if Ant. introduced the Pharisees in connection with Hyrcanus, there was all the more reason for mentioning them again in connection with Jannaeus, since this would have made things much clearer for the reader. Failure to do so is therefore anything but insignificant.

Schürer<sup>1</sup> rightly noted that the midrashic stories about the trouble between Jannaeus and the Pharisees were "mehr kindische Neckereien als ernsthafte Kämpfe." In view of what we have learnt from Josephus, the midrashic account gains new verisimilitude. It shows us Jannaeus in close contact with the heads of the Pharisee community, with whom he was connected through his wife. They had their quarrels—with a man of Jannaeus' temperament this could hardly have been otherwise—but these did not turn into bloodshed. We must of course completely discount B.T. *Qidd.* 66a, which introduces "king Yannai" into the well-known story of Hyrcanus' break with the Pharisees. If we accept the Midrash's version of the relations between the king and the Pharisees, it becomes a great deal easier to understand the Pharisee rise to power under Jannaeus' widow, Salome Alexandra. In BJ I. v. 2 they are introduced—for the first time in that book—with a short characterization, nothing being said about their re-admission or any other change in their fortunes. They were at hand, that is all. Their power over the queen is ascribed to the latter's "simplicity" and religious zeal. Ant. XIII. xv. 5 introduces an episode which may at first glance seem romantic, but is in essence confirmed by B.T. *Soṭah* 22b: the deathbed recommendation of Jannaeus to his wife to "bestow some authority upon the Pharisees, since these, in gratitude for the honour, would influence the people in her favour." Again nothing is said of amnesty, or of the return of those who had fled, nor is there any other reference to former quarrels, except when, a few lines later, in order to illustrate the Pharisees' influence, Jannaeus adds that "he himself, too, had come into conflict with the people (*tō ethnei*) owing to the Pharisees having acted arrogantly against him." If really the Pharisees were the driving force in the opposition against him, this would be a remarkable understatement, but it makes sense if it refers to minor differences like those alluded to in the Midrash.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid. p. 279, where the sources are cited.



It is hardly credible that a man of Jannaeus' character would have selected his worst enemies as the future mainstay of his dynasty—enemies, moreover, whom he is supposed to have decimated and weakened to such an extent that he could hardly have thought them able to provide much support. Their leaders<sup>1</sup> are envisaged as living in Jerusalem, where they can be easily convened by the queen, and although "they suffered much" from Jannaeus, they might give him a royal burial. All this points to a group which had become involved only temporarily and lightly in the civil wars. The story may of course be invented, but by whom? Surely not by the Pharisees themselves, who could hardly have wished—if Jannaeus was their arch-enemy—to owe their power to him. If the story originates from an anti-pharisaic source, it only bears out our contention that the Pharisees were regarded as friendly to Jannaeus and his dynasty.

I would suggest, therefore, that we must for the present consider the identity of the "Interpreters of Smooth Things" with the Pharisees as unproven, and that we cannot identify the group which led the rebellion against Jannaeus. The Qumran Sect disapproved, if not of the whole rebellion, at least of the invitation to Demetrius. It is not at all clear whether they disapproved of Jannaeus himself in principle. Line 8 of PNa seems to state that such a thing as hanging people alive was not done formerly in Israel,<sup>2</sup> i.e.—if lines 7-8 refer to the execution of the 800—it expresses a somewhat mild disapproval of the method of execution,<sup>3</sup> not of the action as such. The title "lion of wrath"—if it denotes Jannaeus—is not in itself uncomplimentary, and not enough is preserved of the context to decide in which way it is applied. The fragment does not enable us to say whether Jannaeus was the "wicked priest" or not. It seems to me that

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<sup>1</sup> If we adopt the *prōtous* of MS E or the *prōteuontas* of the older editions. Most codd. have *stratiōtas*, in the Latin version *milites*, which Niese emends, not too happily, into *stasiōtas* "partisans." I would venture the suggestion that the Hebrew word Josephus had in mind was *ma'amad*, a word which was used by the Qumran Sect both for its peace-time organization and its military structure (cf. Y. Yadin, *Megillath Milhemeth Bene Or* etc., Jerusalem 1956, p. 135 and p. 188) and also appears in various meanings in the Mishnah. Possibly *prōtous* and *stratiōtas* represent two attempts by Josephus himself at representing this technical term.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 2 Sam. xiii. 12; or complete: "he wrought an abomination in Israel," Dt. xvii. 4, or even "he brought a curse upon Israel," cf. next note.

<sup>3</sup> Rabbinic law (M. Sanh. vi. 4) decrees that the criminal is hanged only after death, and that even the corpse must not be suspended for any length of time, because "he that is hanged is a curse of God," Dt. xxi. 23.

the very fact that Demetrius' name is mentioned speaks against Jannaeus' reign as the time of the appearance of the Teacher of Righteousness. Seeing how careful DSH and CDC are to use circumlocutions for all personalities connected with the events, it would be strange that one of them should suddenly be called by name. The appearance of proper names rather suggests that we have here events of the distant past, introduced as historical *exempla*, in the manner of CDC ii. 14-iii. 10.

Jerusalem.

C. RABIN.





## *The Fragments of Isaac Israeli's "Book of Substances"*

In the preceding volume of this *Journal* I published a few fragments of Isaac Israeli's *Book of Substances*, contained in three folios preserved in the Leningrad State Library and two folios in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup> I then pointed out that a further fifteen folios were known to exist in the Leningrad Library; but the correct press-mark for them was unknown, and no photographs could be obtained until it was found. The article was just published when, owing to fortunate circumstances, photographs of these folios (fourteen, not fifteen, in actual fact) were obtained from Leningrad. Thus it is now possible to publish all the fragments of the book at present known to exist. The new texts not only exceed by far the fragments published in the first article but also contain the full text of the passages which in the first article had to be published in a mutilated form owing to the damaged condition of the British Museum manuscript. In order to allow the reader to peruse in a convenient form all the known fragments of the *Book of Substances*, it has been decided to re-publish the texts already printed in the first article; which is thus entirely superseded by the present publication.

The first mention of Israeli's *Book of Substances* occurs as early as 1876, in A. Neubauer's account of the Second Firkowicz Collection of Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic MSS., mostly coming from the Geniza, in which he mentions "Isaac Israeli's unknown treatise, called *Kitāb al-Jawāhir*."<sup>2</sup> This short allusion, however, passed unnoticed. The text to which Neubauer referred is no doubt that contained in a fragment of three folios numbered 2nd Firk. coll., hebr. arab. nova, No. 1243, later described in the handwritten inventory of the collection made by P. Kokowzoff

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<sup>1</sup> "Isaac Israeli's Book of Substances," *JJS*, 1955, 135-45. I have given the present article a different title in order to distinguish it from the former one. The essential bibliography for Israeli (end of the ninth, beginning of the tenth century) is as follows: M. STEINSCHNEIDER, *Die hebräischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters*, 389 ff.; IDEM, *Die arabische Litteratur der Juden*, 38 ff.; S. POZNANSKI, "Anshe Kayruan," in *Harkavy-Festschrift*, 207 ff.; J. GUTTMANN, *Die philosophischen Lehren des Isaak b. Salomon Israeli*, Münster 1911; G. VAJDA, "Le Commentaire kairouanais sur le 'Livre de la Création,'" *Revue des Etudes Juives*, 1946-7, 1949-50, 1953.

<sup>2</sup> *Oxford University Gazette*, vii (1876-7), p. 100 (in "Report to Convocation on Hebrew-Arabic manuscripts at St. Petersburg").

as: "No. 1243—a fragment of the treatise *Kitāb al-Jawāhir* by Isaac Israeli—3 folios." The identification of the fragment was a simple matter, as it included the title-page which gives the full title and the author's name.

In 1929, A. Borisov succeeded in finding, among the fragments of the same collection, a number of further folios from the same manuscript. Borisov reported his discovery in an article which constitutes something of a literary problem. Offprints of the article came into the possession of various scholars, but the identity of the periodical to which it belongs cannot be established. In a bibliographical survey, incorporated in *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, 1936: *Abstracta Islamica*, p. 318, it is stated that the article appeared in *Bibliografia Vostoka*, viii–ix, 1936, 621–8; but an examination of that periodical showed that it contained no such article, either on the pages given in the reference or elsewhere. It is not improbable that the offprints were made from sheets destined for some publication which never actually appeared.<sup>1</sup>

In Borisov's article, the press-mark of the large fragment discovered by him is given as 2nd Firk. coll., hebr.-arab. nova, No. 1197. At the request of the Institute of Jewish Studies, the John Rylands Library and the Manchester Central Library obtained in 1955 photographs of MSS. Nos. 1243 and 1197 from the Leningrad Public Library.<sup>2</sup> No. 1243 turned out to contain what had been expected: three folios of the *Book of Substances*; No. 1197, however, was found to have nothing to do with Israeli at all. It is a MS. of the *Theology of Aristotle*—in effect one of the MSS. of that work discovered by Borisov himself, and described in his article on the *Theology*;<sup>3</sup> in that article he mentions it under this pressmark (2nd Firk. coll., 1197), and gives it the siglum B. At first it was assumed that this number slipped by an error into Borisov's description of his discovery of the Israeli MS. In 1956, however, during a visit of the Lord Mayor and the Town

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<sup>1</sup> This is the opinion expressed by Dr. G. VAJDA in a letter to Dr. A. ALTMANN. I possess a typewritten copy made from an offprint which was in the possession of Dr. S. PINES. Some of the details given above are also derived from BORISOV's article, which is entitled "Some new fragments of Isaac Israeli's works".

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the article of Dr. ALTMANN in *Manchester Review*, published quarterly by the Libraries Committee, Autumn 1955 (vol. vii, pp. 245–7).

<sup>3</sup> A. BORISOV, "The Arabic original of the Latin version of the treatise called 'Theology of Aristotle'" (in Russian), *Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov*, v, 1930, 83–98; cf. IDEM, "On the point of departure of the voluntarist philosophy of Solomon ibn Gabirol" (in Russian), *Bull. de l'Acad. de l'U.R.S.S., Class of Social Sciences*, 1933, 755–68.

## THE FRAGMENTS OF THE "BOOK OF SUBSTANCES"

Clerk of Manchester to Leningrad, photographs of the manuscript were obtained<sup>1</sup> and it now appears that 1197 is the correct pressmark of the *Book of Substances*, while Fragment B of the *Theology* bears the number 1192, although it is catalogued as 1197.

In 1949 I found two folios of the treatise among the Geniza fragments of the British Museum, Or. 5564 B, fols. 8-9. The text contained in these folios runs parallel with part of the text of the Leningrad manuscript.

We thus possess the remnants of two manuscripts of the *Book of Substances*. Of the first we have altogether seventeen folios (Len. 1243: three folios, and Len. 1197: fourteen folios); of the second, two folios (British Museum manuscript).

The text as preserved by these fragments is incomplete and, moreover, does not run in an uninterrupted sequence. We have altogether eight disconnected pieces, shorter or longer.

- (i) Len. (1243), fol. 1 (title page and beginning)  
lacuna
- (ii) Len. (1197), fol. 17  
lacuna
- (iii) Len. (1243), fols. 2-3  
lacuna
- (iv) Len. (1197), fols. 4-11 (partly identical with Brit. Mus.)  
lacuna
- (v) Len. (1197), fol. 12  
lacuna
- (vi) Len. (1197), fol. 14  
lacuna
- (vii) Len. (1197), fols. 15-16  
lacuna of one folio (which can be filled  
with the help of the parallel text in Ibn  
Ḥasdāy)
- (viii) Len. (1197), fol. 18

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<sup>1</sup> It is my pleasant duty to thank the Library authorities concerned; the Town Clerk of Manchester, who brought the photographs of MS. 1197 from Leningrad; the Institute of Jewish Studies, Manchester, for placing the photographs of the Leningrad MSS. at my disposal; Dr. S. PINES, who made available to me a copy of BORISOV's article, which aroused my interest in the Leningrad fragments and rendered possible the identification of the British Museum fragment; and Professor G. SCHOLEM, who, many years ago, had brought Dr. PINES' copy to my knowledge.

Two points are to be noted in connection with this list. The first concerns the numbering of the folios. In the Library the two Leningrad fragments received separate numbers (1-3 and 1-14, respectively). As the two fragments originally belonged to the same manuscript, and the separate numbering leads to confusion, I quote the folios of the manuscripts under consecutive numbers, counting the three folios of Len. 1243 as 1-3 and the fourteen folios of Len. 1197 as 4-17. Secondly, the order of the various fragments as given in the list is partly uncertain. The following are the firmly established points:

(i) is the beginning of the book;

(vii) and (viii) are consecutive (with a short lacuna between them);

(iv) is posterior to (iii), as fol. 4v "as we have promised" refers back to 3r: "we shall quote later the necessary proofs."

(v) is posterior to (iii), as fol. 12r "we have established" refers back to 2r.

For the rest, the order adopted above is only conjectural. I have put (ii) before (iv), as it is possible that (iv), fol. 8v: "we have answered a similar question above," to (ii). This is, however, by no means certain. (Cf. also the commentary referred to below, p. 20).

Both the Leningrad and the British Museum manuscripts are written in Hebrew characters, but it can be established with a great degree of probability that they go back to manuscripts written in Arabic characters. This is proved by the error *al-fi'l* for *al-'aql* which occurs repeatedly (fragm. ii, fol. 3v; fragm. iv, fols. 6r, 7v; fragm. vii, fol. 15r) and which can be easily explained in a text written in Arabic characters (العقل for العمل), but hardly in one written in Hebrew characters (אלפעל and אלעקל have little similarity). The same is true of the error *al-hiss* for *al-jism* (fragm. vii, fol. 16r; الحس and الجسم are similar, but not אלחס and אלגסם). A further, very curious, particular can be established: the Leningrad and the British Museum manuscripts do not go back to a common archetype transcribed into Hebrew characters, but are the result of two independent transliterations from Arabic characters. This can be proved by the passage on fol. 7r (cf. below p. 25, note 6), where the



Brit. Mus. manuscript has the undoubtedly correct reading *lakinnahū aḥadu asbābih*, while the Len. manuscript has the meaningless *גוא סמאיה* which is obviously a false transliteration of (لكنه ا, حد (ا) سانه).

The *Book of Substances* was, then, current in manuscripts written in Arabic characters, and it is very likely that Israeli originally published it in Arabic characters. The book is on general, not specifically Jewish, philosophy and the author wrote it for the general, not specifically Jewish, public interested in philosophy. We may assume that Israeli published his works on general philosophy in Arabic characters, but used Hebrew characters for works like the *Book on Spirit and Soul*, which collects Biblical passages (quoted in Hebrew) to support certain philosophical doctrines, and which was evidently destined for a Jewish public. One could, therefore, have adopted the course of re-transliterating the text into the original Arabic script and publishing it in that form; nevertheless I have decided to publish the text in Hebrew characters, partly for technical reasons. The erroneous transcriptions made during the transliteration from Arabic into Hebrew characters are left in the text, but the original is restored in brackets. (I have chosen this course as the correct form never existed in the Hebrew transliteration.) Scribal errors which originated in the course of the transmission of the text in Hebrew characters are corrected, but the reading of the MSS. is indicated at the foot of the pages.

On the whole I have followed the spelling of the MSS. The MSS. indicate by diacritical signs the difference between *j* (written ا) and *gh* (written گ), between *s* (س) and *d* (د), and between *t* (ت) and *z* (ز), but not between *d* and *dh* (both د) between *k* and *kh* (both ک), and between *t* and *th* (both ت). I have preserved the usage of the MSS., but regularized it by putting the diacritical signs also in the odd cases where the scribe omitted them. An interesting feature is گ for *gh*<sup>1</sup>. The paragraphs are introduced by me, but the full-stops of the original are retained.

I have confined myself here to publishing the text, and have omitted annotations on the contents. The philosophical doctrines expounded in the *Book of Substances* can best be commented in

<sup>1</sup> For sake of economy, a simple ا is always printed instead of گ.

conjunction with the other writings of Israeli; for translation and commentary the reader is referred to a forthcoming volume on Israeli prepared jointly by Dr. A. Altmann and myself, where the problems will be dealt with in a larger context. There is, however, one point which must be attended to here, as it also concerns the text of the *Book of Substances*. Israeli was deeply under the influence of a Neoplatonic treatise which is available in its greater part in a Hebrew translation, in Abraham ibn Ḥasdāy's *The Prince and the Ascetic*, chapters xxxii-xxxv, and which I propose to call, for this reason, "Ibn Ḥasdāy's Neoplatonist." (The text was most probably a pseudepigraph attributed to Aristotle.) In the *Book of Substances* Israeli's indebtedness to this text is very marked, the most striking instance being a long passage in fragments vii and viii which is lifted verbatim from it. For a more detailed discussion I refer, in addition to the forthcoming volume on Israeli, to a study of mine on Ibn Ḥasdāy's Neoplatonist, to be published in the near future, under the title of *Ibn Ḥasdāy's Neoplatonist, a pseudo-Aristotelian Neoplatonic treatise and its influence on Isaac Israeli and the longer version of the Theology of Aristotle*. Here I confine myself to indicating, below the text, the parallel passages in Ibn Ḥasdāy and the Longer *Theology*. I do not note small divergences between the text of Israeli, Ibn Ḥasdāy and the *Theology* (a minute comparison will be given in the article), but shall draw attention to passages where the parallel versions contribute towards improving the text of the *Book of Substances*.

## THE ORIGINAL TEXT

## FRAGMENT I

fol.  
1r

כתאב אלגואהר  
ממא עני בגמעה מן אקאוויל אלגואויל ונצוצהם  
אלאסתאד אלכאמל  
אבו יעקוב אסחק בן סלימאן אלסראילי  
אלמתטבב רחמה אללה עליה  
ורצואנה<sup>1</sup>

v בסם אללה אלרחמן אלרחים אללהם אען.

מסלה לבעץ אלגדליין ממא עני בשרחאה ותכלף באיצאחאה אסחק  
בן סלימאן אלסראילי אלפילסוף פי אלגוהר אלגנסי עלי אלחקיקה  
ואלגנסי עלי אלמגזו ואלצאפה והו כתאבה אלמשוור בכתאב אלגואהר.  
קאל אלסאיל למא צייר אלפילסוף אלגוהר אלבסיט גסא ללגוהר  
אלמרכב והמא גמיעא נועאן ללגוהר אלול אלדי הו גס אלגנאס  
וקד שרט פי כתאב אלמנטק אן אלגנואע תנקס תחת אנאסהא  
אנקסאמא מתסאריא לא תתקדם [read *yataqaddamu*] בעצהא בעצא ולא  
תסבקה [read *yasbuquhu*] פי קבול אסם אלגנסי וחדה ולא יעלו  
אחדהמא אלאכר ולא יקאל . . .

## FRAGMENT II

fol.

17r

. . . ולם ירד אי דלך קלת לזמתה אלאסתחאלה לאן אלעזו רפע אלקוה  
ופי קולך קוה ולא קוה ואראדה ולא אראדה אסתחאלה מן באב אלכיה.  
קלנא לה עארצת במחאל ואלחקת בדעואך אלכטא מן תלאת אוגה

אחדהא אנך קאבלת אסתחאלה אתרייה לאחקה באלמפעול באסתחאלה  
דאטייה לאחקה באלפאעל והדא מן אבין אלכטא לאן אלאסתחאלה  
אלאתרייה אללאחקה באלמפעול הי חרכה אלמפעול ואנתקאלה וכרוגה  
מן אלקוה אלי אלפעל ואלאסתחאלה אללאחקה באלפאעל הי אנתקאל  
דאתה אלי כלאף מא הו עליה וצדה מתל אנתקאלה מן לא פאעל ולא קאדר  
ולא מריד אלי פאעל וקאדר ומריד או מן וגוד דלך אלי ארתפאעה ועדמה  
פאדא לם יזל אלפאעל קאדרא ומרידא ופאעלא פקד זאלת ענה  
אלאסתחאלה ואלתגייר וארתפע ענה אלעזו אצלא ותבת אן אמתנאע  
v כרוג אלמפעול מן אלקוה אלי אלפעל פי כל זמאן ליס הו לעזו אלפאעל  
ען אכראנה לכן לארתפאע אלאמכאן פי כרוגה אלא פי אלמדה אלתי כרוג  
פיהא. מתאל דלך כאנך תקול אנה למא כאן בין אדם ומוסי עאס אנאל  
ואנדאד לם יכן אמתנאע כרוג מוסי עאס פי זמאן אדם לעזו אלבארי ען  
דלך לכן לכרוג דלך ען אלחכמה ודכולה פי באב אלמחאל לאמתנאע  
אלאמכאן פי כרוגה אלא בעד אלגואיל ואלגואד אלדי בינהמא אלא  
אן יציר דלך עלי סביל אלגואדע ואלאכטראע פירתפע אלגואסל  
אלטביעי ותנקץ אלחכמה בעץ מא פיהא ואלטאהר מנהא.

ואלוגה אלתאני אן קדרה אלבארי עז וגל לא נהאיה להא ולא יחאט  
בכנהא ומא לא נהאיה לה פויר ממכן כרוג כליתהא אלי אלפעל  
לאמתנאע כרוג מא לא נהאיה לה פי זמאן די נהאיה לאן . . .

<sup>1</sup> The title page contains also an ex-libris (זל שמואל [ ]) and some words which I could not decipher.

...ויכאן נורהא איצא אקל אלנור ציא ואבעדהא מן אלרוחאנייה דלך לאנהא  
 פי אבעד בעד מן אלנור אלחק ואלציא אלכאלץ אד כאנת אנמא תקבל נורהא  
 מן אלנפס אלנבאטייה ולדלך צעף נורהא ותפרקת קואהא ואכתסב אלהיולא  
 אלחאמל לה תנסמא וקבל אלטול ואלערץ ואלעמק ויתחרך אלחרכה  
 אלדוריה אלתאמה אלבסיטה ומן אגל דלך קאל אלפילסוף אן אלטביעה  
 תקאל עלי מעאני שתי ודלך אנהא תקאל עלי אלפלך וסאיר אלשכאץ  
 אלעאליה אד כאנת טביעה כאמסה פאעלה ללכך ואלפסאד כמא קאל  
 אלפילסוף אן אלטביעה אבתדא חרכה וסכך אראד באלחרכה אלכך  
 ובאלסכך אלפסאד. ואלטביעה איצא תקאל עלי אלכיפיאת אעני  
 אלחרארה ואלברודה ואלרטובה ואלבוסה לאנהא כיפיאת אלאשיא  
 וטבאיעהא אלבסאית ולדלך צאר כל מטבוע לא יכלו מן אן יכך  
 אמא חארא ואמא בארדא ואמא רטבא ואמא יאבסא ויקאל איצא עלי  
 אן ענאצר אעני אלנאר ואלהוא ואלמא ואלארץ לאנהא טבאיע אלאשיא  
 ואסטקסאיתהא ויקאל איצא עלי מזאנא אלגראם אלמרכבה מן אלענאצר  
 אעני אנראם אלחיואן ואלנבאט אלא אן אלטביעה עלי אלחיקה הי אלקוה  
 אלפלכיה אלתי קדרהא באריהא לתאחיר אלכך ואלפסאד.

ולעל מעתרצא יעררץ ויקול ומא אדליל עלי אן אול אלמכתרעא  
 גוהראן בסיטאן ואן אלפעל [read: al-'aql] מכון מנהמא פנקול לעמרי לקד  
 עארצת במא לא יגב אלתנאפל ענה ולו למ יכך מנך פיה מעארצה גיר אנא  
 ראינא אן נהמל אלכלאם פיה פי וקתנא הדא אלי אן נסתתם אלמעני אלדי  
 אבתדאנא בה תם נאטי בעד דלך במא יגב מן אדלדאיל אלואצחה  
 אלכארגה ען באב אלמכאן ואלאקנאע אדאכלה פי באב אלוגוב  
 ואלאצטראר

וקד כנא בינא ואוצחנא אן צורה אלטביעה ונועיתהא אלמקומה  
 לדאתהא מכוונה מן פי אלנפס אלנבאטייה ושעאעהא וצורה אלנפס  
 אלנבאטייה ונועיתהא מכוונה מן פי אלנפס אלחיואנייה ושעאעהא וצורה  
 אלנפס אלחיואנייה ונועיתהא מכוונה מן פי אלנפס אלנאטקה וצורה אלנפס  
 אלנאטקה ונועיתהא מכוונה מן פי אלעקל פמן אלבין אדא  
 אן שעאע אלעקל ופיה הו נועייה אלנפס אלנאטקה ושעאע  
 אלנפס אלנאטקה ופיהא נועייה אלנפס אלחיואנייה ושעאע  
 אלנפס אלחיואנייה ופיהא נועייה אלנפס אלנבאטייה ושעאע  
 אלנפס אלנבאטייה ופיהא נועייה אלטביעה פאד דלך כדלך  
 פאלעקל אדן נועיה גמיע אלגואהר וצורתהא אלמקוומה לדאתהא אד כאן  
 שעאעה נורה אלמנבעת מן פיה ינבוע גוהריתהא ואצל צורהא ונועיתהא.

פאן קאל קאיל פלם לא קלת איצא אן אלקדרה ואלאראדה נועייה כל  
 אלגואהר אד כאנת הי אלמכוונה ללחכמה אלתי הי צורה אלעקל ונועיתהא  
 אלמתממה לדאתה. קלנא לה עארצת במחאל לאנך קאבלת שיא אתריה  
 פעליא בגוהרי דאטי ודלך אן נור אלחכמה מכון מן אלקדרה ואלאראדה  
 עלי סביל אלתאחיר ואלפעל ואלנור אלמנבעת מן אלעקל דאטי גוהרי  
 כנור אלשמס וציאהא אלמנבעת מן דאתהא וגוהריתהא ואלצורה אלנועייה

<sup>1</sup> In the Library fol. 2 is given the number 3, fol. 3 the number 2.

<sup>2</sup> MS. אעלי.

<sup>3</sup> MS. אלנעת אן, conjecture אלנפס.



פליסת תכון מן אלשי אלתרי אלפעלי בל מן אלדאתי אלגוהרי כאלנטק  
אלמקוום לדאת אלאנסאן וליס הו מן אלנפס עלי סביל אלתאר ואלפעל  
לכנה גוהרי דאתי

ואד צרנא אלי הדא אלמוצע מן כלאמנא פלנרנע אלי תמאם אלמעני  
אלרי כנא פיה פנקול אנה למא קאמת טביעה אלפלך וסאירי אלאשכאץ  
אלעאליה ותחרכת ואלחרכה אלדוריה אלתאמה אלבסיטה תכוון מן  
חרכתהא חרארה רכבת אללהיולא ואנתשרת פיה ואנבסט אלהיולא  
להא וצחבתהא אלקוה אלפלכיה אלתי קדרהא באריהא לתאתירי אלכון  
ואלפסאד ויכון מן דלך טביעה אלענאצר אלד אלתי הי אלנאר ואלהוא  
ואלמא ואלארץ . . .

## FRAGMENT IV

fol.

. . . פאנה ינפעל מן אלפרס באלנטק אלגוהרי אלמקוום לדאתה וינפעל  
מן נפסה מן אחואלה בחרכאתה אלאראדייה אלשתא מתל אלאכל ואלשרב  
ואלנום ואליקטה ומא שאכל דלך ודלך אן אלאנסאן אכלא גירה שארבא  
ונאימא גירה יקטאנא וליס הו נאטקא גירה לא נאטקא לאן בארתפאע אלנטק  
ארתפאעה איצא.

4r

פאן קאל קאיל אנא לם נקצד למכאלפתך אן אלאנסאן ינפעל מן אלבהימה  
בגוהריתה ודאתה ולכנא אנמא קצדנא אן נלומך אן אלנטק ערץ פי אלחי  
אד כאן ואילא מן גיר פסאד אלחי ואלדליל עלי דלך אנא נגד אלפרס חיא  
וליס בנאטק. קלנא לה קד תקדם אלגואב פי הדא עלי מתל הדא  
אלמעארצה אנפא וקלנא אן אלערץ הו אלפאסד בעדי מפארקה חאמלה  
ואלנטק פגיר פאסד בעד מפארקה חאמלה אד ליס הו שי גיר אלנפס  
אלנאטקה | אד תבאתה בתבאתהא וארתפאעה בארתפאעהא וקד תבת  
באלבראהין אלואצחה אן אלנפס באקיה בעד מפארקה חאמלהא  
פאלנטק אדא תאבת באקי בעד מפארקה חאמלה.

v

ואד\* צרנא אלי הדא אלמוצע מן כלאמנא פלנרנע אלי מא כנא ועדנא בה  
מן אקאמה אלדליל עלי אן אול אלמכתרעאת גוהראן בסיטאן מנהא תכונת  
טביעה אלעקל. פנקול אן מן אלדליל עלי דלך מא וגדנאה מן אכתלאף  
מראתב אלגואהר פי בסיטהא ותרכיבהא ורוחאניתהא וגסמאניתהא ודלך  
אנא נטרנא פי תאתיראת אלגואהר וכואצהא\* פוגדנא אלנפס אלנבאתייה  
מכצועה באלתגדיה ואלנמו ואלתולד תם תרקינא דרגה פוגדנא אלנפס  
אלחיואנייה אעלי מרתבה לאנהא מע מא פיהא מן אלתגדיה ואלנמו  
ואלתולד תכתן באלחרכה\* ואלחס איצא | ותמאז בהא מן אלנפס  
אלנבאתייה תם תרקינא דרגה תאניה פוגדנא אלנפס אלנאטקה אעלי ואשרף  
לאנא וגדנאהא מע מא פיהא מן אלנמו ואלתולד ואלחס ואלחרכה תכתן  
באלנטק ואלפחץ ואלתמיזי איצא ותמתאז בדלך מן אלבהימיין תם תרקינא  
דרגה תאלתה פלם נגד חאלא תתריק [read: *nataraggā*] אליהא אלא  
אלחכמה אלתאמה ואלעלם אלמחץ ואלמערפה אלכאלצה ווגדנא דלך  
מכצועא באלעקל אד מן אלממתנע וגוד עקל אלא פי חכמה ולא חכמה

fol.

5r

\* etc., cf. for some phrases Ibn Ḥasday, ch. xxxiii, first half.

<sup>1</sup> This word is the *custos*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. בגיר.

<sup>3</sup> MS. וביאצהא.

<sup>4</sup> MS. אלחרכה.

מכתרעה אלא פי אלעקל אד בוגוד כל ואחד מנהא וגוד אלכר ובארתפאעה  
 ארתפאעה. ואד דלך כדלך פמן אלביין אן אלעקל אשרף אלגואאר  
 ואעלאהא מרתבה ואסנאהא דרגה ואקרהא מן אלאבדאע ואלאכתרהע  
 ואכצהא באלאנפעאל ללקדרה ואלאראדה בלא וסיט אד כאנת אלחכמה  
 אלתאמה ואלמערפה אלמחצה ואלעלם אלחך צורתה ותמאם גוהריתה  
 v ולמא | וגדנא דלך בחתנא ען אלעקל פוגדנא לא ינפך מן גוה ג אמא אן  
 יכון גוהרא ענצריא ואמא גוהרא צוריא ואמא גוהרא מרכבא מן היולא  
 וצורה אד ליס פי קסמה אלעקל וגוה ראבע ללגוהר כארז עמא דכרנא פאן  
 טן טאן אנה גוהר ענצרי אוגדנא פסאד דלך ען קרב מן קבל אן אלענצר  
 לא יכלו מן אן יכון אמא כליא עאמיא ואמא גוהרא כאציא פאן כאן כליא  
 כאן חאמלא ללצור אלכליה אלמקומה לדאת אלאנאע מתל אלגוהר  
 אלכלי אלואחד באלעדד אלקאים בדאתה אלחאמל ללאכתלאף מטלקא  
 ואן כאן גוהרא כאן חאמלא ללצורה מכצוצה מקומה לדאת נוע מפרד מכצוצ  
 מתל אלחי אלקאבל ללנטק פי תקרים דאת אלאנסאן ואן כאן אלעקל  
 fol. 6r צורה פהו אדא קאבל ללצורה מא פי תקרים דאת נוע מא ולסנא נגד ללעקלי  
 צורה נחמלהא [read: yahmilukā] פי תקרים | דאת נוע מא וליס אלעקל  
 אדא גוהרא ענצריא.

פאן קאל פמא אנכרת מן אן תכון אלחכמה צורה יחמלהא אלעקל ותתכון  
 מנהא אלנפס אלנאטקה. קלנא לה אן כאן דלך כדלך פאלחכמה אדא  
 צורה ללנפס אלנאטקה מקומה לדאתחא ואלעקל ענצרהא והיולאהא ואד  
 כאנת אלחכמה צורה ללנפס ואלעקל היולאהא וגב אן תכון אלחכמה  
 גריבה פי אלפעל [read: fi'l-'aqli] אד לא [read: kullu] צורה מחמולה  
 פי היולא גריבה: פיה ימכן וגודה בגירה מתל אלנטק אלמחמול פי אלחי  
 ואלחי מוגדר בגיר אלנטק: לאן אלפרס וגירה מן אנואע אלחי אחיא  
 וליסת בנאטקה פאד דלך כדלך פקד באן אלחכמה מתי כאנת צורה מקומה  
 לדאתה אנהא גריבה פי אלעקל פאד כאנת גריבה פי אלעקל גאז  
 ארתפאעהא ענה ואדא ארתפעת ענה עדם אלעלם ואלמערפה וצאר גהלא  
 לאן אלחכמה הי חקיקה אלעלם באלאשיא, אלאבדייה אלדאימה ואלעמל  
 v במא יוגבה אלעלם ואדא עדם אלעקל אלחכמה פקד עדם אלעלם  
 ואלמערפה וצאר גהלא והדא כלף לא ימכן פקד באן אן אלחכמה ליסת  
 בצורה ללנפס ולא אלעקל בגוהר ענצרי להא.

פאן קאל קאיל פמא תקול פימן קאל אן אלגהל צורה אדא חמלהא אלעקל  
 קאמת טביעה אלנפס אלנאטקה וממא ידל עלי דלך אנה נגד אלנפס תגהל  
 פאדא עלמת עלמת. פאנא נקול לה אן אלמעארצה פאסדה מן תלתה אונה  
 אחדהא אן אלגהל לא צורה לה ולא וגוד יתמכן אן יכון צורה לשי  
 או מחמולה עלי שי לאנה עדם ואלעדס לא וגוד לה ולא צורה מתל אלעמי  
 פאנה לא צורה לה ולא וגוד אד כאן עדם אלכצר וכדלך אלטלאם לא  
 fol. 7r צורה לה ולא וגוד אד כאן עדם אלגור ואלדליל עלי דלך אן אלאנסאן  
 לו כאן: גאלסא פי אלליל ובין ידיה שמעה תצי לוי | רפעת אלשמעה למא

<sup>1</sup> MS. ללצורה.

<sup>2</sup> MS. אלעקל.

<sup>3</sup> MS. והמא נטק.

<sup>4</sup> MS. פאלאשיא.

<sup>5</sup> Here begins the British Museum fragment. (L=Leningrad MS., B=British Museum MS.)

<sup>6</sup> B. תם.

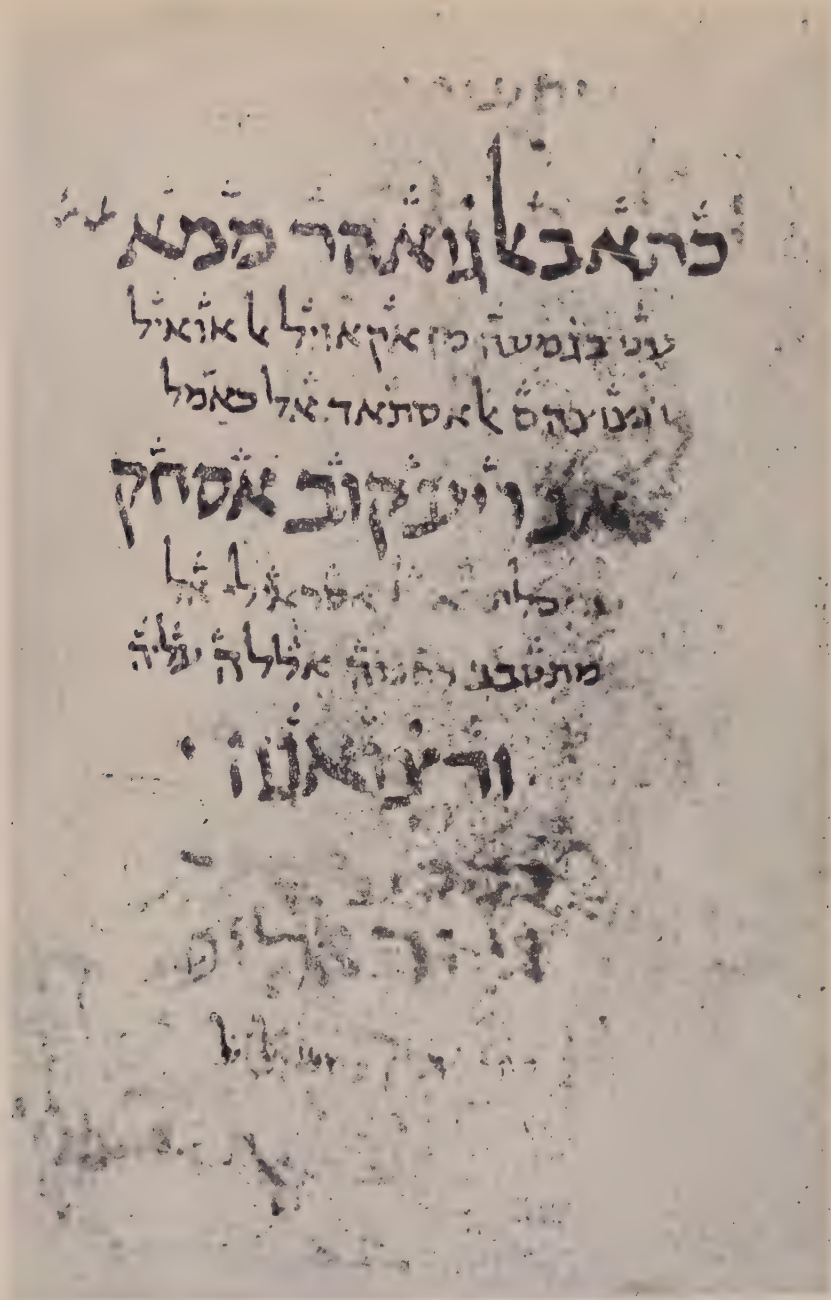


Fig. 1. FROM THE LENINGRAD FRAGMENT OF ISAAC ISRAELI'S 'BOOK OF SUBSTANCES' (TITLE PAGE).

בסמל (לחומר) לייס . אלהס אע

מסלה יבעץ אגדליין ממא

עני בשורחהא ותכלה

באינאהא אסחקבן סלימאן

אאסדאיליאסלסוף פיאגדרא

גבסועליא חקיקה ואגסיעלי

אמנאז ואנאפה והו כתאס

אמשודר בסתאב אגואהר

קא (לסאל) למא צייד ח (פילסוף) לגוהר גסיע

גנא (לגוהר) למחבר והמא גויעא טעאק

לגוהר גאון (לדידו) גנאס וקד שרט

פי כחצב לוטש - אקלאטא ע תקסס תחת

אגנאסדא אנקסמאא ותמאנא (א ותקדס

ע עתא פעתא (א תספקה פי קבולאססל

גנא וחידה ונא יעל חתדהמא לארז ואקא

Fig. 2. FROM THE LENINGRAD FRAGMENT OF ISAAC ISRAELI'S 'BOOK OF SUBSTANCES' (FIRST PAGE).



וגד שיא חדת: אכתר מן עדם אלגור וכדלך לו אן אנסאנאי גול פי עיניה:  
 אלמאי למא וגד שיא חדת אכתר מן עדם בצרה. פאן קאל אפליס נוול  
 אלמא מוגדא קלנא לה אן נוול אלמאי ליס הו צורה לעדם אלבצר לכנה  
 אחד אסבאבה. אלמוגבה לכוניה ואמא אלעמא פלא צורה לה לאנה עדם  
 אלבצר. ואלתאני אן אלגהל לו כאן צורה גוהרייה לכאן חאפטא לטביעה  
 אלהיולא אלחאמל<sup>9</sup> לה. ומתממא לגוהרייה מא הו לה צורה מתל גור  
 אלשמס אלחאפט לטביעה אלהוא ואלמתמם<sup>10</sup> לגורה וציאיה ומתל אלנפס  
 אלחאפט לטביעה אלגסם ואלמתממה<sup>10</sup> לצורה אלנאסאן וגוהריתה  
 ואלגהל פגיר חאפט לטביעה אלעקל ולא מתמם לצורה אלנפס וגוהריתהא  
 לאן מן גוהרייה אלנפס אלתמיז ואלפחץ ואלוקחץ עלי חקאיק אלאשיא<sup>10</sup>  
 v ואלגהל פעדם<sup>11</sup> דלך אנמע. ואלתאלת אן אלגהל לו כאן | צורה גוהרייה  
 ללנפס<sup>12</sup> לכאן אלנאסאן אדא ארתפע ענה אלגהל עדם אלנפס וצארת  
 אלבהימה<sup>13</sup> אשד חקקא באלנפס מנה<sup>14</sup> לאנהא אכץ באלגהל פקד באן  
 אן אלעקל ליס בנור ענצרי ללנפס ולא הו איצא בנור צורי להא מן קבל  
 אן אלעקל לו כאן צורה ללנפס למא אמכן ארתפאעה ענהא<sup>15</sup> לאן  
 בארתפאעה<sup>16</sup> אלצורה אלגוהרייה פסאד מא הו לה צורה מתל אלנטק אלדי  
 בארתפאעה ארתפאע אלנאסאן. ואלנפס פליסט כדלך לאנא גודהא אבדא  
 תנהל<sup>16</sup> ותעדם אלעקל חתי תעלם פתעלם פאלעקל אדא פיהא צורה  
 תמאמייה תכרז מא פיהא מן אלקוה אלי אלפעל באלריאצה ואלתעלים  
 לא צורה גוהרייה לאנא גודה פי אלנפס באלקוה קבל כרוגה אלי אלפעל  
 fol. כנור אלשמס אלמתמם ללהוא בתציריה להא נורא מציא תאמא פאלפעל  
 [read: fa'l-'aqlu] 8r אדן פי אל | נפס צורה תמאמייה לא צורה גוהרייה<sup>16</sup>

ואד טהר<sup>17</sup> אן אלעקל<sup>18</sup> ליס בנור ענצרי ללנפס ולא גוהר<sup>19</sup> צוריפקד בקי

<sup>1</sup> עדם חדת L.

<sup>2</sup> B. אנסאן.

<sup>3</sup> B. עינה.

<sup>4</sup> B. מא.

<sup>5</sup> B. נוול.

<sup>6</sup> B. לכוניה אחר אסבאבה (mistransliteration of (لكنه (أحد (أ) سانه).

<sup>7</sup> B. לתכונה.

<sup>8</sup> Om. B.

<sup>9-10</sup> Om. B.

<sup>10-10</sup> For this passage B is not available, as the lower parts of its folios are torn off.  
 (The following traces remain . . . ונורית . . . אלאנ . . . ומת . . .)

<sup>11</sup> L. עדם.

<sup>12</sup> Om. B.

<sup>13</sup> L. אלבהימיה.

<sup>14</sup> B. מנה באלנפס.

<sup>15-15</sup> Om. L.

<sup>16-16</sup> Torn off in B. (The following traces remain — . . . ותעלם ותעלם . . .)  
 (פעל וקד טהר.)

<sup>17</sup> B. וקד טהר אדא.

<sup>18</sup> (the scribe started to write אלפ עקל, but noticed the error after the first letter).

<sup>19</sup> Om. B.

אין יכון גוהרא מרכבא<sup>1</sup> מן היולא וצורה אד קד כרגת קסמה אלעקל אלי אלפעל ולם יבק וגה ראבע יתצרף אליה ואד<sup>2</sup> צאר אלעקל מרכבא<sup>3</sup> מן היולא וצורה פמן אלביין אן אלהיולא ואלצורה<sup>4</sup> אקדם מנה באלטבע פקד באן ואתצח<sup>5</sup> אן אול אלמכתרעאת גוהראן בסיטאן ואן אלעקל מכוון מנהמא

ואד צרנא אלי הדא אלמוצע מן כלאמנא ואתינא עלי מא ארדנא איצאחה מן גואבי אלמעטרין עלינא פי אתבאתי אלדליל עלי אן אול אלמכתרעאת גוהראן בסיטאן פלנגע אלי מא<sup>6</sup> כנא ועדנא בה מן אלאבנה ען אסבאב אכתלאף אלגואהר ועלי תקדים בעצהא עלי בעץ פי אלוהאנייה ואלמרתבה פאקול<sup>7</sup> אן דלך יכון<sup>8</sup> לתלתה אסבאב אחדהא כיפיה אנבעאת אלנור אלמכתרע מן אלקדרה ואלארודה. | ואלתאני כיפייה קבול v אלגואהר ללנור בעצהא מן בעץ. ואלתאלת אלאכתלאף אלואקע בין אלמפיד ואלמפאד ואלאפאדה ואלאסתפאדה. פאמא<sup>9</sup> כיפיה אנבעאת אלנור מן אלקדרה ואלארודה פקד כנא אוצחנא וביננא אן אולה\* מכאלף לאכרה ווסטה<sup>10</sup> מכאלף לחאשיתה<sup>11</sup> מן קבל אן אולה כמא אנבעת מן אלקדרה ואלארודה לם יעתרצה<sup>12</sup> טל ולא טלאם<sup>13</sup> פתכדרה ותגלטה<sup>14</sup> ואכרה קדי<sup>15</sup> אעתרצתה אפאת<sup>16</sup> כתירה<sup>17</sup> ודתוראת שתא פכדרתה<sup>18</sup> וגלטה<sup>19</sup> פוסטה אכד מן אלחאשיתין בקסטה.

\* to next note: torn off in B. (The following traces remain: . . .) *וערנא ט* . . .

<sup>1-1</sup> B. גוהר מרכב

<sup>2</sup> B. ינצרף (original *بيصرف*).

<sup>3</sup> B. ארא

<sup>4</sup> Om. L.

<sup>5</sup> Om. B.

<sup>6</sup> Om. B.

<sup>7-7</sup> B. אקאמה

<sup>8</sup> to next note: torn off in B. (The following traces remain: . . .) *וערנא ט* . . .

<sup>9</sup> See preceding note.

<sup>10</sup> Om. B.

<sup>11</sup> B. אמא

<sup>12</sup> . . . וא לוס (unclear) B.

<sup>13</sup> B. אלחאשיה

<sup>14</sup> B. יערצה

<sup>15</sup> B. אלטלאם

<sup>16</sup> B. פיכדר ויגלט

<sup>17</sup> B. פקד

<sup>18</sup> L. ? אפוא

<sup>19</sup> Om. B.

<sup>20</sup> Torn off in B.

<sup>21</sup> The rest torn off in B (the traces of מן remain). End of the British Museum fragment.

פאן אעטרץ מעטרץ וקאל והל עזו אלבארי עז וגל מן אכתראע נור מתסאר  
אלקוה פי כלהי חתי יכון אולה מסאויא לאכרה ווסטה מסאויא לחאשיתה.  
fol. קלנא לה קד כנא אנבנא ען מתל הדא אנפא מא פיה כפאיה ונחן גויד דלך  
9r שרחה וביאנא | פי מוצענא הדא פאקול אן כל\* אלמפעולאט אנמא תתכוון  
עלי חסב אמכאן קבול אלהיולא ללאנפעאל לא עלי חסב קדרה באריהא  
ופאעלהא וליס פי אלמכאן אן יכון אלנור אלכארז מן פי גוהר מן אלגואהר  
כלה משאכל ללנור אלמנבעת מן אלקדרה ואלאראדה בלא פי ולא דתור  
אלא אן תרנע פי דלך אלי אלאבדאע ואלאכתראע\* פיתסאוי\* אלמפעולאט  
וירתפע אלעאם ואלכאץ ותעזו אלחכמה מא דון אלעקל מן אלגואהר  
ויעדם אלפלך וחרכתה\* ויבטל אלכון ואלפסאד ואלמוזג ואלאמתוזג  
ואלתאליף ואלתרכיב ואלעדל ואלענצאף ואלחק ואלבאטל ואלתואב  
ואלעקאב פקד באן אן מא פעלה אלבארי עז וגל הו אלאתקן ואלאפצל  
תעאלי רבנא ובארינא עלוא כבירא.

ואמא אכתלאף אלגואהר מן כיפייה קבולהא ללנור בעצתה מן בעץ פתכן  
עלי צרוב ודלך אן מן אלגואהר מא יקבל אלנור מן אלקדרה ואלאראדה  
v בדאתה בלא וסט | מתל אלעקל אלקאבל לנור אלחכמה בדאתה מן גיר  
תוסט גוהר אכר בינה ובין אלחכמה ודלך צארת אלחכמה דאתה  
וגוהרייתה ומנהא מא יקבל דלך בוסיט ואחד אן בוסיטין או בתלתה או  
אכתר מן דלך. מתאל דלך אלנפס\* אלנאטקה אלקאבלה לנור אלחכמה  
בתוסט אלעקל פקט אלנפס אלחיואנייה אלקאבלה לדלך בתוסט  
<אלנאטקה ואלעקל ואלנפס אלנבאטייה אלקאבלה לדלך בתוסט\*  
אלחיואנייה ואלנאטקה ואלעקל מעא ואלטביעה אלקאבלה לדלך בתוסט  
אלנפסין אלבהימתיין ומא פוקהא מן אלגואהר ואלענצר אלגסמאני ואלצורה  
אלגסמאנייה אעני בדלך אלענאצר וכיפיאתהא אלקאבלה ללנור בתוסט  
אלטביעה ומא פוקהא מן אלגואהר פאד דלך כדלך פאקול אן\* אלעקל  
למא כאן קאבלא לנור אלחכמה בדאתה בלא וסיט עדם אלגהל אצלא  
fol. וצאר עלמה תאמא כאמלא ומערפתה כאלצה מחצה לאן נורה וציאיה  
10r איצא | כדלך כמא טהר מן אלקדרה ואלאראדה לם ערצה טל ולא טלאם  
פיכדרה ודלך אשרף עלי חקיקה אלעלם באלאשיא אלאבדייה אלדאימה.  
ואמא אלנפס אלנאטקה פ <ל> אנהא אנמא תסתפיד נורהא בתוסט פי אלעקל  
וטלה גלטת ולומהא אלגהל ואפתקרת אלי אל <ת> עלם ואלריאצה ליכרנ  
מא פיהא מן אלקוה אלי אלפעל. ואמא אלנפס אלחיואנייה פלאנהא אנמא  
תקבל נורהא מן פי אלנפס אלנאטקה צארת אכתר טלא וכדרה ועדמת  
אלפחץ ואלתמיז ואפתקרת אלי אלחואס אלגסמאנייה ודלך צארת טאנה  
מתוהמה לאנהא עלתהא\* אלחואס לאבלקא\* אלעקל. ואמא אלנפס

\* etc., cf. for some phrases Ibn Ḥasday, ch. xxxiii, first half.

<sup>1</sup> טלה MS.

<sup>2</sup> אול MS.

<sup>3</sup> ואלאבחראע MS.

<sup>4</sup> פתסאוי MS.

<sup>5</sup> וסחנתה MS.

<sup>6</sup> אן אלנפס MS.

<sup>7</sup> Supplied by conjecture.

<sup>8</sup> Seems corrupt; read *ghalabathā*? After this there seems to be a lacuna.

<sup>9</sup> Corrupt; perhaps read *lā tilqā'a*.



אלנבאטייה פלאנהא איצא אנמא תקבל נורהא מן פי אלנפס אלחיואנייה  
 צארת אכתר אלנפס טלא ודתורא ועדמת אלחס אלנפסאני ולומת אלחס  
 v אלטביעי אעני חס שהוהי | פקט ולדלך תקלת ולומת מוצעהא  
 מן אלארץ ואמא אלטביעה פלאנהא פי אבעד בעד מן אלנור אלחק ואלציא  
 אלכאלץ לכתרה מא בניהא ובינה מן אלוסאיט כתר טלהא וטלאמהא  
 ותגסמת ואדרכהא אלאשכאץ [read: *al-inhišāru*] ותחרכת אלחרכה  
 אלתאמה אלדוריה ואופרדת בפעל אלכון ואלפסאד כמה בינא מן קול  
 אפילסוף חית קאל אן אלטביעה אבתאד חרכה וסכון. ואמא אלענאצר  
 וכיפאיתהא פלאנהא אנמא תקבל נורהא מן פי אלטביעה אלגסמאני צארת  
 טלא מחצא וטלאמא כאלצא וקבלת אלמוזא ואלאמתוזא ואלכון ואלפסאד  
 ותכוונת מנהא אלאגראם אלמרכבה ועדמת אלאגראם אלמרכבה מנהא  
 אלפעל ואלתאמיד וצארת אלתא ודואת ללנפוס אלמרתבטה בהא תפעל  
 fol. פי כל ואחד מנהא מא הו להא באלטבע ותכרז מא פי דאתהא מן אלקוה  
 iix אלי אלפעל פמא ארתבטת בה אלנפס אלנאטקה צאר נאטקא ממוזא  
 פחאצא ומא ארתבטת בה אלנפס אלחיואנייה צאר מתחרכא חסאסא ומא  
 ארתבטת בה אלנפס אלנאמיה צאר מתנדיא נאמיה מתולדא.

פאן קאל קאיל אפליס אלנאסאן אלנאטק איצא מתחרכא חסאסא מתולדא  
 קלנא לה קד תקדם מן קולנא אנפא אן אלנפס אלנאטקה מסתפידה ללנור  
 מן אלעקל ומפידה ללנפס אלחיואנייה ואלנפס אלחיואנייה מסתפידה מן  
 אלנפס אלנאטקה ומפידה ללנפס אלנבאטייה ואלנבאטייה מסתפידה מן  
 אלחיואנייה ומפידה ללטביעה ולמא כאן דלך כדלך ואשתאקת אלנפס  
 אלנאטקה אלי אלארתבאט באלאגראם ליטהר מא פי דאתהא מא  
 אסתפאדתה מן אלעקל מן אלקוה אלי אלפעל ותדרכה מן אלחואס  
 אלגסמאנייה אחתאגת אלי קוי חסאסה פחרכת אלנפס אלחיואנייה  
 v לתרבת באלאגראם ויטהר חרכתהא וחסנהא מנהא ולמא ארדאת אלנפס  
 אלחיואנייה איצא דלך אחתאגת אלי קוי גאדיה מנמיה מולדה לתכאלף  
 עלי אלאגראם עוף מא יתחלל מנהא באלחרכה דאימא פחרכת אלנפס  
 אלנבאטייה לתרבת איצא באלאגראם ויטהר פיהא אלנמו ואלתולד. ולמא  
 המת אלנפס אלנבאטייה איצא בדלך אחתאגת אלי קוי טביעיה אעני אלקוה  
 אלנאדבה אלדי תגרב בהא אלגדא אלי כל ואחד מן אלאעצא וקוה מאסכה  
 וקוה האצמה וקוה דאפעה תדפע בהא פצלה אלגדא ען אלאעצא ותנפיהא  
 ענהא פחרכת אלטביעה לתרבת באלאגראם ויטהר פיהא מא פי דאתהא  
 מן אלקוי אלטביעיה ולמא המת אלטביעה בדלך אחתאגת אלי חרארה . . .

## FRAGMENT V

fol. . . . ממא תקדם דכרה אן אלנפס אלנבאטייה נועיה אלאשנאר ואלנבאט  
 iix לאן באלנמו ואלתולד תתם צורתהא אלממיה להא מן גירהא פאן אלנפס  
 אלחיואנייה נועיהא אלחי לאן באלחרכה ואלחס תתם צורה כל חי ונועיתהא  
 פאן אלנפס אלנאטקה נועיהא כל אנסאן לאן באלנפס ואלתמיז תתם צורתהא  
 ונועיתהא וקד כנא בינא אן [אלעקל הו] אלמקום להדה אלוואהר צורהא  
 אלוהריה אלתי הי נועיתהא ותמאמהא ובאן איצא אן הדה אלוואהר הי  
 אלמתממה לאנאס אלחיואן ואלנבאט אד כאנת הי צורתהא אלוהריה

<sup>1</sup> MS. אלשהוה.<sup>2</sup> Blurred in MS.<sup>3</sup> MS. אלטקיד; Doubtful.<sup>4</sup> MS. Doubtful; blurred in MS.

ותמאם נועיתהא פאד דלך כדלך פמן אלבין אן אלעקל נועיה אלכל ולדלך  
 חד אלפילסוף אלעקל בנועייה אלאשיא אראד אן יערפנא אן נועייה  
 אלאשיא מוודה פיה בנוע בסיט לא בנוע תרכיב ולדלך צאר אלנאם  
 v ישאד אלאשיא פי אלנום בסאיט בלא | היולא ולא אלה לאנה ירי אלאלואן  
 בלא עין ויסמע אלנאצואת בלא סמע וידרך סאיר אלאשיא בלא חואס והכדי  
 פעל אלמליכה ולדלך צאר אלעקל אדא אראד אן יעלם מעלומאתהא  
 רגע אלי דאתה פונד מא פיהא רוחאנייה בסיטה

פקד\* באן ממא קדמנא דכרה אן אלפלך ומא פוקה מן אלנארה מעקולאת  
 ללבארי גל ועז אד כאנת מכוונה מן אלקדרה ואלאראדה מן גיר תוסט  
 פאעל גיר אלבארי גל ועז ומא דון אלפלך מן אלנארה אלמרכבה  
 אלמחוססה מפעולה ללטבאיע ולדלך צאר אלנארה אלנאליה תאבתה  
 באקיה דאימה אלנאפעאל לאן פאעלה עז וגל באקי אלפעל גי פי פעלה  
 ען אשיא כארנה ענה ואלנארה אלנאמאנייה אלמרכבה מנחלה פאניה  
 נאקצה אלפעל לאן פאעלהא איצא נאקץ אלפעל פקיר פי . . .

## FRAGMENT VI

fol.

... מן\*\* אלוסאיט ואלמעלולאת פכל ואחד מנהא אכד מן אלחאשיתין  
 14r בקסטה מתואס בה עלי קדר קרבה מן אלעלה אלנאלי ובעדה מנהא לאן  
 מא כאן אקרב מן אלעלה אלנאלי אלנאמה ואלנור אלמחץ ואלחסן אלנאם  
 אלכאמל כאן אשד לנורה וציאיה ואקרב מן תמאמה וכמאלה ואקל  
 לחרכתה ואכתר לסכונה לאן וצולה אלי גאיתה ותמאמה מן קרב וכלמא  
 כאן אבעד מן אלעלה אלנאלי ואלחסן אלנאם כאן אקל לנורה ואכתר  
 לטלה וגהלה ואשד לחרכתה ללטלב לאן וצולה אלי גאיתה מן אבעד בעד  
 ולדלך צאר מעלול <אלעלה> אלנאלי אלנאמה אקל אלמעלולאת חרכה  
 וקלקא ואכתרהא סכתא דלך לקרבה מן גאיתה ותמאמה לאן פאעלה דאם  
 אלנוד ואלנאפאדה לעאיה ען גירה וארתפאע אלפקר ואלחאנה ענה ולדלך  
 v צאר מעלולה ידרך מעלומאתה בדאתה דפעה מן גיר | שי כארג ענה אעני  
 אנה לא יחתאג פי עלמה למעלומאתה אלי מעונה אלחואס אלנאמאנייה  
 ולא גירה אד כאנת מעלומאתה חאצרה ענה פאדא רגע אלי צורה דאתה  
 אלתי הי אלחכמה אלנאמה וגד מעלומאתה דפעה בלא פכרה ולא רויה  
 כמא יעלם אלנאסאן מנא אן כל אתנין זוג ואן אלנא אקל מן אלכל.

פאן קאל קאיל והל עלם אלנאסאן מנא אן אלנא אקל מן אלכל חתי נשאד  
 דלך חסא וגד אלכל ינקסם אלי אנוא ואלנאנוא תנתמע פתציר כלא. קלנא  
 לה אן כלאמנא הדא מציאף אלי אלנאסאן אלנאם לא אלי אלנאסאן  
 אלנאהל ודלך אן אלנאסאן מרכב מן נפס וגסד ואלנפס לארתבאטהא  
 באלגסם ותקסם פכרהא פיה ותשאגלהא במא יטרא עליהא מן אלחואדת  
 דאימא תנסי מא ענדהא פאדא דכרת מא הו ענדהא באלתעלם ואל. . .

\* etc., cf. the longer version of the Theology of Aristotle, book x, ch. 3 (to be published in the study quoted above, p. 20).

\*\* Cf. Ibn Ḥasday, ch. xxxii; for the phrase בקסטה בסיטה, ch. xxxiii, second half.

<sup>1</sup> MS.; correction according to the parallel passages.

<sup>2</sup> MS. עליה.

<sup>3</sup> Blurred in MS.

<sup>4</sup> MS. אלנא (אן unclear).

<sup>5</sup> MS. וור.

<sup>6</sup> This word is the custos.

15r ... לדאטהא וכדלך לו [כאן] אלחיואן מסתניא ען אלגדא לארתפע אלנומו  
ואלבלא ואלויאדה ואלנקצאן ועדמת אלחכמה אלענאצר ואלמוזא  
ואלאמתזאג ונקצת ען אלתמאם.

ואלתאנייה אן קדרה אלבארי גל ועז לא נהאיה להא ולא גאיה לכנה >ה< א  
ולא תחיט אלעקול במערפתהא ואמא אלמכוון אלמפעול פמתנאה באלטבע  
מחצור מחדוד ענד אלעקל פלו כאן כון אלמכוון עלי חסב קדרה באריה  
לכאן לא נהאיה לה אד לא נהאיה לקדרה מכוונה והדא ביין אלמחאל  
טאהר אלפסאד.

וואד אתניא עלי מא ארדנא איצאחה מן מעארצא אלמערץ עלינא פלנוגע  
אלי תמאם אלמעני אלדי כנא פיה . ונקול אנה למא\* כאן כל נור מנבעת  
מן מניר או צו מן מצי פאולה אקוי מן אכרה ווסטה אכד מן אלחאשיתין  
בקסט כאן אלנור אלמנבעת מן פי אלפעל [read: al-'aqli] איצא תלת  
מראתב מרתבה עליא קריבה מן אפק אלעקל מתצלה | באלנור אלחק  
v ואלציא אלכאלץ . ומרתבה ספלי קריבה מן אפק אלנפס אלחיואנייה  
בעידה מן אלנור אלחק ואלציא אלכאלץ . ומרתבה מתוסטה בין דלך פמא  
כאן מן אלנפס אלנאטקה נורה פי אלמרתבה אלעליא קריבא מן אפק  
אלעקל כאנת רוחאנייה קריבה מן אלתמאם משאכלה לרוחאנייה אלמלאיכה  
פי דרך אלחקאיק נאלאערתאף ברבוביה אלבארי ואלאקראר בוחדאנייתה  
ואלעמל במא יוובה אלעקל מן אלטהר ואלתסביח ואלתקדיס ללבארי  
ואיתאר אלעדל ואלנאצאף ופעל אלכיר דאימא מתל אנפס אלנאביא עאס  
ואימה אלהדי . ומא כאן מן אלנפס נורה פי אלמרתבה אלספלי בעידא  
fol. מן אלנור אלחק ואלציא אלכאלץ לומה אלגהל וזהד פי אלכיר ועדל ען  
16r אלחק ורגב פי אללדאת אלנסמאנייה ואלשהואת אלרדלה אלדנייה | ומא  
כאן מנהא פי אלמרתבה אלוסטי כאן אכדא מן אלחאשיתין בקסט ויזיד  
דלך פיה איצא וינקץ עלי חסב אנחראף נורה ען אלמרתבה אלוסטי אלי  
אחדי אלחאשיתין דון אלכרי . ואמא אלנפס אלחיואנייה פאן מא\* כאן  
מנהא פי אלמרתבה אלעליא קריבא מן אפק אלנפס אלנאטקה; כאן כאמלא  
תאם אלחואס מע פטנה לה יחכי בה כתירא ממא יסמע וירא עלי חסב  
אלטאקה ואלאמכאן מתל אלבגוא פאנה יחכי כתירא ממא יסמע וירא עלי  
חסב טאקתה ואלקרד יחכי כתירא ממא ירא בחסב טאקתה ואמכאנה . ומא  
כאן פי אלמרתבה אלספלי קריבא מן אפק אלנפס אלנאטקה כאן אקל  
כמאלא ואגלט חסא [read jisman] ואקרב מן טביעה אלנאטקה ולדלך  
עדמ אלחואס כלהא אלא חס אללמס מתל אלנאטקה פאן להא חס אללמס  
אלקריב מן אלחס אלטביעי אלמוגוד פי אלנאטקה פאן אלנאטקה יחס חסא  
v טביעיא ולדלך | צאר יקבל אלמא אלעדב פי אלמרתבה אלעדיה וינפר  
מן אלמא אלמאלח ואלתרבה אלנטרוניה . ומא כאן מנהא פי אלמרתבה  
אלוסטי כאן אכדא מן אלחאשיתין בקסט ויזיד דלך איצא פיה וינקץ עלי

\* etc.=Ibn Hasdāy, ch. xxxiii, second half (=Longer Theology, book x, § 5, to be published in the study quoted above, p.20).

<sup>1</sup> Illegible in MS.

<sup>2</sup> MS. אל

<sup>3</sup> MS. מן

<sup>4</sup> MS. אינאטקה

<sup>5</sup> Correction after Ibn Hasdāy.

<sup>6</sup> One has to read probably ואלתרבה.



חשב אנחראף נורה ען אלמרתבה אלוסטי אלי אחדא אלחאשיתין דן  
אלאכרי או תוסטה בינהמא עלי אלחקיקה ואן כאן תוסטה בין אלחאשיתין  
תוסטא מעתדלא כאן לה מן אלחואס מע חאסה אלמס אלתייהי ללאצדאף  
חאסה אלדוק וחאסה אלשם וחאסה אלסמע ועדם חאסה אלבצר לאנהא  
אלטף אלחואס ואכתרהא רוחאנייה פאן כאן מנחרפא ען אלמרתבה אלוסטי  
אלי אלמרתבה אלעליא כאן אכתר לכמאלה וצאר לה מן אלחואס עלי  
מא תקדם דכרה חאסה אלבצר איצא מתל אלסמך פאן לה חאסה אלבצר  
אלא אנהא פיה צעיפה גיר תאמה מן קבל אנהא\* . . .

FRAGMENT VIII

fol.

13r

קריבא מן אפק אלנפס אלחיואנייה כאן אבהא ואחסן ונאצר לונא ואדכא  
ראיחה ואעטר מן קבל אן אלנפס אלנבאטייה רבמא ארתבסת באלאגראם  
שוקא מנהא אלי אטהאר מא פי דאתהא מן אלאלואן אלנאצרה ואלרואיח  
אלדכיייה לתכרהגא מן אלקוה אלי אלפעל ותלד בהא פי אלעאלם אד  
כאנת גיר ואצלה אלי אלעאלם אל [ . . . . . ]<sup>1</sup> סנבין דלך ונוצחה אן  
שא אללה . ואד דלך כדלך פמן אלבין אן מא כאן מן אלנבאת אנצר לונא  
ואעטר ראיח <ת> א כאן דלילא עלי קוה אתאר אלנפס פיה ואטהארהא  
ובהאהא מנה ומא כאן מן אלנבאת בכלאף דלך וצדה כאן דלילא עלי צעף  
תאתיר אלנפס פיה וקלתה ורבמא אכתלף דלך פי אלנבאת ותרכב חתי  
תכון לה ראיחה עטרייה ולון קביח או לון נאצר וראיחה כרייה פידל עלי  
תוסט תאתיר אל | נפס פיה בין אלקוה ואלצעף ויכתלף דלך איצא וינחרף  
ען אלמרתבה אלוסטי אלי אחדי אלחאשיתין עלי חסב אלוסאיט אלתי  
בין אלמרתבה אלמתוסטה ובין אלאטראף\*\*.

v

פאן עארצנא מעתרץ באלטעאם וקאל פלם לא כאן פי אלטעום איצא דליל  
עלי תאתיראת אלנפס פי אלנבאת כמא כאן דלך פי אלראיחה ואלאלואן  
קלנא לה דלך לאן תולד אלטעום עלי אלאמר אלאכתר יכון מן פעל  
אלטבאע ולדלך צארת אלטעום דאלה על טבאע אלנבאת ומקדאר כל  
ואחד מנהא פי אלחרארה ואלברודה ואלרטובה ואליוסוה בסאיט כאנת  
או מרכבה ואמא אלרואיח ואלאלואן פליסת כדלך לאן תולדהא עלי  
אלאמר אלאכתר מן תאתיר אלנפס וקלמא יכון מן פעל אלטבאע לון  
מא כאן מנהא ילחק אתאר אלטבאע ולדלך צארת . . .

\* The missing page can be supplied from the parallel text in Ibn Ḥasday.

\*\* The missing page can be supplied from the parallel text in Ibn Ḥasday.

<sup>1</sup> MS. אדרי.

<sup>2</sup> MS. כאצח.

<sup>3</sup> Illegible in MS.; perhaps: [אספל אלא כהא פ].



## Isaac Israeli's "Chapter on the Elements" (Ms Mantua)

OUR knowledge of the philosophical doctrine of Isaac Israeli, the "Father" of Jewish Neoplatonism, has been considerably advanced as a result of S. M. Stern's publication, in the present number of this *Journal*, of the fragments of Israeli's *Book of Substances* which A. Borisov discovered in 1929. Happily, we can add yet another hitherto unknown work to the *corpus* of Israeli's writings. A Ms. (28c) preserved in the *Biblioteca Comunale di Mantova* (Mantua) contains a Hebrew text entitled *Sha'ar ha-yesodot le-Aristo* ("Chapter on the Elements by Aristotle") which can be shown to represent a translation from the Arabic of a treatise written by none other than Israeli. A suggestion to this effect was put forward first by Prof. G. Scholem in a letter dated 18th July, 1955 to the present writer. The text is published here for the first time, and the attempt has been made to prove Israeli's authorship.

The text comprises five pages (16r-18r) of a miscellaneous volume and is written in an Italian hand of about the sixteenth century. Its size is mm. 193 x 150.

M. Steinschneider mentions the little *opus* in his *Hebräische Übersetzungen des Mittelalters* (§123, p. 234) and quotes the opening and concluding passages which M. Mortara had copied out for him. He seems to have regarded it as a pseudo-Aristotelian chapter from some lost encyclopaedic work. Aristotle did not write a book "On the Elements", notwithstanding the fact that in *De sensu* 441b, 11 he mentions "our treatise on the Elements" which is a reference to *De gen. et. corr.*, as noted by J. I. Beare.<sup>1</sup> There existed a pseudo-Aristotelian Arabic work on the subject of the elements, a Latin translation of which under the title "*De causis proprietatum elementorum*" has survived in editions of Aristotle's works.<sup>2</sup> The Mantua text belongs to a different category. Though quoting at great length from some pseudo-Aristotelian treatise, it is a work of its own offering comments on the teachings of its source. The concluding paragraph explicitly

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *The Works of Aristotle*, ed. W. D. Ross, Vol. III, 1931, 441b, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., M. STEINSCHNEIDER, *loc. cit.*, pp. 232-233; *Aristoteles Latinus*, index, s.v. *Proprietatibus (De) elementorum*.

states that its aim is "to explain the words of the philosopher (sc. Aristotle) by way of arguments and proofs" (18r, 25-27), and this is in fact what we find in the text. It is therefore clear that we are dealing here with the work of an author who had before him some pseudo-Aristotelian text the propositions of which he deemed it necessary to support by arguments and proofs. The ascription of the work to Aristotle in the title is thus incorrect and must be due to the copyist who obviously inferred from the opening sentence, "Aristotle . . . said" that the treatise as a whole was by Aristotle.

The present writer wishes to express his thanks to the Director of the *Biblioteca Comunale di Mantova* for placing a photographic copy of the Ms at his disposal; to Prof. G. Scholem for first drawing his attention to Israeli as author of our text; to Mr. J. Leveen, M.A., Keeper of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts at the British Museum, for paleographical advice; and above all to Dr. S. M. Stern for his ready and valued co-operation.

### (I) COMPOSITION AND AUTHORSHIP

The Mantua treatise (subsequently to be referred to as *M*) contains passages parallels of which are extant in a number of texts.

(1) G. Scholem discovered that the opening section of *M* literally agrees with one of the three philosophical passages quoted in R. Azriel of Gerona's *Perush ha-Aggadot* (Ms. Jerusalem, fol. 42a; ed. J. Tishby, Jerusalem, 1945, p. 83, 12-27).<sup>1</sup> A continuation of this passage in a somewhat condensed form can be found on fol. 44a-b, ed. Tishby, pp. 87.25-88.5. *Perush ha-Aggadot* (*PA*) obviously quotes from *M*, and we therefore do not stand to gain much from this parallel text for an elucidation of the source underlying *M*.

The fact that *PA* had the Mantua text before it is evident from the following observations: (a) The Hebrew texts of *M* and *PA* are identical; thus both of them go back to the same translation of the original Arabic. (b) *PA* faithfully reproduces the copyist's error of ascribing the characteristics of the rational soul to the animal soul. See *M* 16r, 10: *PA*, p. 83, 20-21. For the correct

<sup>1</sup> Cf. G. SCHOLEM's article "Iqvotaw shel Gevirol be-Qabbalah" in *Meassef Sofre Ereš Yisrael*, 5700 (1940), pp. 171-172.



reading cf. our critical apparatus. (c) *PA*, p. 83, 25-26 takes over from *M* a comment on nutrition (missing out the reference to Aristotle) which occurs only in the Mantua text, 16r, 14-15. (d) *PA*, p. 88, 4-5 concludes the quotation from *M* with a sentence which belongs to the opening of a section (§3) not contained in the parallel texts.

(2) Another parallel, in a different Hebrew version, is provided by Abraham Ibn Hisday's *Ben ha-melekh we-ha-nazir* ("Prince and Ascetic"; *BM*), chaps. XXXII-XXXV, as has already been recognised in part by G. Scholem.<sup>1</sup> *BM* does not follow the Mantua text but most likely draws on the pseudo-Aristotelian source underlying it. The parallel passage is introduced not in the name of Aristotle as in *M* but of "the wise" (*ha-hakhamim*).

(3) The passage in *M* describing the series of emanations and the origin of the elements and composite beings re-occurs in a rather mutilated and clumsy Hebrew translation in Isaac Israeli's *Ma'amar ha-ruah we-ha-nefesh* ("Treatise on Spirit and Soul"; *RN*) published by M. Steinschneider in *Ha-Karmel*, ed. S. J. Funn, 1871, pp. 409ff. As mentioned by Prof. Scholem, this parallel was first noted by the late Julius Guttman in a letter reviewing Scholem's *Kitve yad be-Qabbalah*, Jerusalem 1930.<sup>2</sup>

(4) The edition by S. M. Stern of Israeli's *Kitāb al-jawāhir* ("Book of Substances"; *BS*) in the present issue of this *Journal* has furnished us with yet another text containing many parallel passages. The doctrine of the intellect put forward in *M* is made the basis of a great deal of discussion in *BS*. The texts of *BM* and *BS* are closely related to each other.

(5) A parallel text which has only just come to light and been made available for investigation is Book X of the Long Version of the *Theology of Aristotle* (*LTh*) from the 2nd. Firkowitch Collection of the Leningrad State Public Library, No. 1192 (*fol.* 4r ff.). This text was discovered by A. Borisov together with two more fragments,<sup>3</sup> and will shortly be edited by S. M. Stern. Thanks to Dr. Stern's courtesy, the present writer has been able

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> See A. BORISOV's article, "The Arabic Original of the so-called Theology of Aristotle" which appeared (in Russian) in *Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov*, V, 1929, pp. 83-98.

The fragment referred to above—designated by Borisov as fragment B—bears the pressmark 1192, not 1197, as Borisov erroneously stated.

to make use of this text which bears the closest affinity to the pseudo-Aristotelian source of *M* as well as the texts extant in *BS* and *BM*.

It would seem natural to assume that the Long version of the *Theology of Aristotle* represents the source quoted in *M* as well as in the other parallel texts with the exception of *PA*. The reference to Aristotle at the opening of *M* would thus find its simple explanation. It can, however, be demonstrated (by pointing out various secondary changes in points of doctrine and by other considerations) that *LTh* cannot be the source of the other texts but is itself based on some older pseudo-Aristotelian source which it shares with the other texts mentioned. An inquiry into this question cannot be our concern here. It will be sufficient to note that *M* has essential features in common with the parallel texts we have listed, and deviates from them in other respects. This will help to provide a clue to solving the question of authorship.

The following analysis of the various sections of which *M* is made up will throw light on the composition, literary dependence and authorship of *M*. The method we have adopted for solving the question of authorship is the following: It will be shown that certain sections of the text reflect sources used by Israeli in several of his writings; moreover, that some passages which do not belong to a common source contain ideas and phrases peculiar to Israeli.

§1 (16r, 1-19, excluding the author's digression 14-16) contains an account of the coming-to-be of intellect from the conjunction of first matter and form, and of the series of emanations from intellect down to the sphere. This passage occurs with certain variations in *LTh*, *BM* and *RN*. The rather strange and characteristic simile describing emanation in terms of "the radiance that goes forth from mirrors of glass when the rays of the sun fall upon them" is found in all the three parallel texts: *M* and *RN* speak of "mirrors of glass set in the windows of baths and palaces", *LTh* of "crystal and glass" and *BM* of "glass in a dark house." The fact that all these texts are using the same simile makes it evident that they reflect an identical source. At the same time, it should be noted that *M* speaks in exactly the same terms as Israeli in *RN*. It may be inferred that the author of *M* is identical with Israeli.

The doctrine that first matter and form precede intellect, and that intellect is composed of them is characteristic of the pseudo-Aristotelian source, and occurs also in *BM*, whereas it appears in a slightly varied form in *LTh*. For our purposes it is important to note that this doctrine is very much stressed by Israeli and defended against deviationist views. *BS* contains a long passage devoted to proving "that the first of created things are two simple substances, out of which the nature of intellect is established." *BS* obviously bases itself on the pseudo-Aristotelian text quoted in *M*.

For the rest of the passage, its account of the series of emanations from intellect down to the sphere re-appears in substantially the same form in *RN*, *LTh* and *BM*, and is made use of in the references to intellect, the three souls and the sphere in *BS*. Israeli is thus known to have adopted the metaphysical *schema* of the pseudo-Aristotelian source quoted in *M*. It is therefore most likely that the author of *M* is identical with Israeli.

§2 (16r, 20-16v, 8, excluding the author's digression 16r, 21-3 and 16r, 29-16v, 5) gives an account of how from the motion of the sphere first the element of fire and subsequently the other elements originated. This passage has no parallel in any other text except *RN* where the description is, however, much condensed. It is plausible to assume that §2 was introduced by the author of *M* in order to prepare the ground for the discussion of the influence of the elements which forms the theme of §3. In that case, the conclusion is inevitable that *M* and *RN* have the same author, i.e. Israeli. It can hardly be assumed that *LTh* and *BM* had before them the same text and omitted it, seeing that there is no break whatever in the continuity of the text of these two versions.

§3 (16v, 8-17r, 1) sets forth the doctrine that every animal inclines towards the particular element which predominates in its make-up, and that only man in whom the elements are blended has a perfect being. Proofs are offered in support of this theory. Again, there are no parallels to this passage in the other texts. We are obviously dealing here with the author's own account.

§4 (17r, 1-20) has again no parallel in the other texts and must be regarded as emanating from the author. It proves from the behaviour of created beings that they are composed of the four elements. The proofs are: (1) Their dependence on food (earth),

drink (water), warmth (fire), and respiration (air). This applies even to the plants. They possess an elemental perception, and therefore grow if supplied with rainwater, and perish in salty and sulphuric waters. This latter observation occurs also in *LTh* and *BM* where the passage concerned is evidently the same as the one underlying *M* §6 (see below). It re-appears in Israeli's *Book on the Elements* (*BE*), ed. by S. Fried, p. 67. (2) The four natures (*sc.* the two biles, blood and phlegm) require to be sustained by the four elements, and they return to them. The same idea of a correspondence between the four natures and the four elementary qualities occurs also in *BE*, pp. 20-21.

§5 (17r, 20-17v, 2) refutes the statement\*that created beings are made from one single nature. Again, there is nothing corresponding in the other texts. We find, however, that Israeli gives a lengthy refutation of this view in *BE*, p. 64ff. One of the arguments advanced in *M* re-appears there in great detail. It concerns man's liability to suffer disease, and is quoted in *BE* in the name of Hippocrates. Another argument concerning the variety of food necessary for created beings re-appears in *BE*, pp. 65-67, and the argument from the divisibility of man into parts (*i.e.* members of the body) is applied in *BE*, pp. 67-68. Our passage in *M* shows clearly, therefore, the traces of Israeli's views on the subject.

It may be noted that having reviewed the various opinions held by the ancient philosophers on the number of the elements (*BE*, pp. 62 ff.), Israeli adds: "With the help of God, I will write a chapter (*sha'ar*) in refutation of the view that there is only one element" (p. 64). The promised "chapter" follows immediately, introduced by the words, "Says Isaac." It is a curious coincidence that *M* too bears the title "Chapter on the Elements," although it certainly represents a treatise of its own as evidenced by its *explicit*. In *BE* the subject of the elements is dealt with in an infinitely more elaborate manner than in our small treatise, and it may be assumed that *M* belongs to an earlier phase of the author's literary activities.

§6 (17v, 2-18r, 13) describes the various degrees of created beings in terms of the inclinations of their souls. This passage has its prototype in the passage used in *LTh* and *BM* where similar or identical illustrations (*e.g.* the one relating to the parrot) are used from a slightly different viewpoint. The guiding



principle in these two texts is that of the nearness or distance of the souls from the source of emanation. The respective passages are identical in *LTh* and *BM*, and they commence with the words, "The beginning of every light which emanates from a light-giver is stronger than its end, the middle partakes of both extremities." In *BS* (fragm. VII), Israeli literally quotes this text. *M*, on the other hand, adapts it to the purpose of proving that the differences between the various beings result from the inclinations of their souls. A comparison of the typology of men offered in *M* with that set out in *BE* makes it strikingly clear that both texts belong to the same author, i.e. Israeli.

*M* classifies men according to whether (a) the rational soul inclines towards the animal soul or (b) the rational soul and the animal soul jointly incline towards the vegetative soul or (c) whether the vegetative soul inclines towards the animal soul, the animal soul towards the rational soul, and the rational soul towards intellect. *BE* similarly classifies men according to whether (a) one of the three souls predominates exclusively or (b) the animal soul and vegetative soul predominate jointly or (c) the rational soul and animal soul predominate jointly or (d) the rational soul and the vegetative soul predominate jointly or (e) the rational soul withdraws from the lower souls and receives the splendour of the intellect.

The assumption of Israeli's authorship of *M* is further corroborated by an analysis of certain textual features of §6.

(i) The description of the highest type of man in *M* agrees in many respects with the one given in Israeli's *BS*, parallels of which are extant in *LTh* and *BM*. It obviously goes back to the pseudo-Aristotelian source used by Israeli in *BS*. The phrase, "like the souls of the prophets" at the end is missing in *LTh* but probably occurred already in the pseudo-Aristotelian source from which *M*, *BS* and *BM* took it. The passages are set out below in order to facilitate the comparison of the texts concerned:

*M*

When the soul . . . which is nearest to intellect achieves perfection, he (*sc.* man) . . . becomes perfect, clear-minded and truthful, and he will seek the things which are good and

*BS*

Those rational souls the light of which is of a higher degree and near the horizon of intellect, are spiritual and near to perfection . . . recognising the Divinity of the Creator and

true such as knowledge and understanding, purity and holiness, the worship and nearness of his Creator, and that which attaches the creature to the Creator, like the souls of the prophets which are attached unto Him.

BM

The rational soul the light of which is of a higher degree near the horizon of intellect will be spiritual and near to perfection . . . recognising the truth and acknowledging the rank of the Creator, confessing his unity, doing what is dictated by intellect in praising, acknowledging and sanctifying the Creator, walking in the paths of truth and equity and practising righteousness continually like the souls of the pious and the prophets.

acknowledging his majesty in doing what is dictated by the intellect: thanking, praising and sanctifying the Creator, following justice and equity, and always doing good, like the souls of the prophets . . . and the teachers guiding us aright.

LTh

The souls the light of which belongs to the higher degree, are spiritual and near to perfection . . . recognising the Divinity of the Creator and acting in accordance with the dictates of intellect, being pure, praising, extolling and sanctifying Him, loving truth, doing good and following perfection.

(ii) The paragraph setting out the purpose of man's perfection concludes with the sentence, "He (*sc.* the Creator) therefore ordained for man to receive reward for the good and punishment for evil." There is nothing corresponding to this in the pseudo-Aristotelian source, as far as can be ascertained from the texts in *LTh* and *BM*. Nor does Israeli mention reward and punishment in the context of the passage in *BS*. But there are no less than three parallels in Israeli's *Book of Definitions* (*BD*; ed. Hirschfeld, *Steinschneider Festschrift*, 1896, Hebrew Section, pp. 132, 8-9; 133, 1; 136, 6 from below). All the three passages describe the noble rank of the rational soul and conclude, like *M*, with the promise of reward. It seems obvious that the passages concerned are, like *M*, based on the pseudo-Aristotelian text extant in *LTh*, *BM* and *BS* (quoted above), and that the mention of reward, which is missing in the source is due to Israeli. We are therefore







on safe ground in assuming that the text in *M* represents an exact parallel to the passages in *BD*: in all these texts the neoplatonic account of the highest degree of the soul has been supplemented by the idea of the soul's reward. We may draw the inference that the author of *M* is identical with the author of *BD*, i.e. Israeli.

Israeli's fondness of the idea of the soul's reward is evidenced also by two more passages. In *RN* (pp. 404-405), the theme is elaborated by reference to Scripture, and there is a mention of it also in *BE* (p. 57). The neoplatonic character of Israeli's concept of reward is clearly brought out in one of the three passages in *BD* (p. 133, 1-4), where "paradise" is identified with the blissful union of the soul with "the light created by the power of God," i.e. the supernal "wisdom" or form of intellect mentioned at the beginning of *M*. We may note that the account of the rank of the highest soul in *LTh* contains a similar phrase, "This light is united with the perfect intellect which is united with the perfect word of the Creator." But there no mention is made of the idea of reward.

(iii) The description of the lower types of man in *M* bears close resemblance to the account given in Israeli's *BE*, as will be apparent from the texts set out below:

*M*

When the rational soul inclines towards the animal soul, it will pursue the things which are vile, evil and corrupt such as homicide, theft, falsehood and lust. It will abandon the good things, despise the pious and just, love the foolish and wicked . . .

When both the rational and animal soul incline towards the vegetative soul, men will thereby be prone to pursue unworthy things such as excessive food and drink and the desire for the enjoyment of this world only.

*BE*

He who is ruled by the animal soul will be foolish, confused, pretentious, desirous of homicide, revenge, bloodshed and lust similar to the beasts in his character.

He who is ruled by the vegetative soul will be foolish, dull, of little understanding, bent upon the lower passions, excessive food and drink, sexual intercourse . . .

§7 (18r, 14-17) represents the author's comments on the terms "below" and "above" used in the preceding paragraph.

§8 (18r, 17-25) represents an *excursus* by the author on the Aristotelian notion of God as "Cause of causes."

§9 (18r, 25-27) contains the *explicit*.

The afore-going analysis has shown that the Mantua treatise is composed of two distinct layers, viz. (1) a pseudo-Aristotelian source on which Israeli draws in several of his writings, and which he occasionally varies in accordance with notions peculiar to him, e.g., the typology of men and the doctrine of reward; (2) discussions introduced by the author to some of which there exist parallels in works by Israeli, e.g., the description of the origin of the elements; the idea of the correspondence between the four elements and the four natures; and the refutation of the view that everything derives from a single element. The conclusion to be drawn from our analysis is that the Mantua treatise represents a work by Israeli.

The significance of the Mantua text lies not only in the addition it offers to the *corpus* of Israeli's writings but also—and primarily—in the light it throws on the source of Israeli's Neoplatonism. We are now able to see that the many scattered references to wisdom, intellect and the three souls which occur in the hitherto known treatises by Israeli form part of a clearly defined metaphysical doctrine which is derived from the source quoted in the Mantua text. True, a comparison of the newly published fragments of *BS* with the fragments of *LTh* would have been sufficient to reveal Israeli's dependence on a pseudo-Aristotelian source but without our knowledge of *M* the distinctiveness of that source would have eluded us. From *M* we learn that Israeli's version of the neoplatonic doctrine is based on a pseudepigraph—we may call it "the Israeli source"—which differs in some respects from other known types of Neoplatonism, including the Long Version of the *Theology*.<sup>1</sup> The discovery of the Israeli source, therefore, means a gain also for the study of early Arabic Neoplatonism. To the pseudepigraphical literature sailing under the flags of Aristotle, Empedocles and other ancient philosophers, and representing so many variants of the Plotinian

<sup>1</sup> For an elucidation of certain features of this text, based on BORISOV's article see S. PINES, "La Longue Recension de la Theologie d'Aristote dans ses rapports avec la doctrine Ismaelienne," *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, 1954.

system, we may now add the pseudo-Aristotelian treatise quoted in the Mantua text.

## (2) TRANSLATION

16r

Blessed be God

## THE CHAPTER ON THE ELEMENTS

[by Aristotle]

§I Aristotle the philosopher and master of the wisdom of the Greeks said: The beginning of all roots<sup>1</sup> are two simple substances<sup>2</sup>: one of them is first matter, which receives form and is known to the philosophers as the root of roots.<sup>3</sup> It is the first substance which subsists in itself and is the substratum of diversity. The other is substantial form, which is ready to impregnate matter. It is perfect wisdom, pure radiance and clear splendour, by the conjunction of which with first matter the nature and form of intellect came into being, because it (*sc.* intellect) is composed of them (*sc.* matter and form).<sup>4</sup> After the nature, form and radiance of intellect had come into being, a radiance and splendour went forth from it like the radiance that goes forth from mirrors of glass set in the windows of baths and palaces when the

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the four elements. For *shoresh*, root as "element" cf. 16r, 24, 25; 16v, 6; 17r, 21. The usual term for "element" used in our text is *yesod*. Other terms are *ha-ṭebaim ha-rishonim* or *ha-ṭeba'im ha-gedolim* as distinct from *ha-ṭeba'im ha-memusakhim* and *ha-ṭeba'im ha-qetanim* respectively. Cf. 17r, 7-8; 17v, 11. An alternative term for *ṭeba'* is *toledet*. Cf. 17r, 3, 5.

<sup>2</sup> The term "simple substances" (*geramim peshutim*) applies to the spiritual substances (intellect, the three souls, the sphere) and first matter and form. Cf. 17r, 24; 17v, 10. Equivalent terms used in the text are *'inyanim ruhaniim* (17v, 9; cf. 17v, 15, 16, 19) and *ṭeba'im ruhaniim* (17v, 12).

<sup>3</sup> The designation of first (spiritual) matter as "root" occurs also in the pseudo-Platonic text quoted by R. Azriel of Gerona. See TISHBY, *loc. cit.*, pp. 82-83 and note 13. Azriel's own use of *shoresh ha-shorashim* for first matter seems to derive from our text. Solomon Ibn Gabirol describes universal matter and universal form as *radix omnium*. See *Fons Vitae*, ed. BAEUMKER, I, 5; IV, 11 and *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> In his treatise *On The Two Kinds Of Matter*, Plotinus describes Intellect (*Nous*) as composed of "intelligible matter" and "form" (*Enn.* II, 4, 5). This account of Intellect is difficult to reconcile with his usual notion of it as Mind in which there is a duality (and union) of the intellectual and intelligible. Cf. A. H. ARMSTRONG, *The Architecture of the Intelligible Universe in the Philosophy of Plotinus*, 1940, pp. 66-67. Our text adopts both notions of *Nous*, making each into a distinct hypostasis, and thus arrives at the ontological schema outlined above: (a) Wisdom (another name for *Nous*) as form impregnating matter; (b) Intellect.

radiance and splendour of the sun fall upon them.<sup>1</sup> From this the nature of the rational soul came into being. Its radiance and splendour are less than the radiance and splendour of the intellect, on account of which this soul is ignorant and needs instruction and memory.<sup>2</sup> After the nature of the rational soul had come into being, a radiance and splendour went forth from it like the radiance that goes forth from mirrors of glass, and from this the nature of the animal soul came into being. Its radiance and splendour are less than the radiance and splendour of the rational soul, on account of which this soul possesses estimation and phantasy.<sup>3</sup> After the nature of the animal soul had come into being, a radiance went forth from it like the one which had gone forth from the first ones, and from this the nature of the vegetative soul came into being. Its radiance and splendour are still less and more dim than the first radiances. For this reason the animal soul is capable of locomotion and sensation,<sup>4</sup> whereas the vegetative soul is restricted to the motions of growth and generation only.<sup>5</sup>

In discussing the subject of the soul, the philosopher therefore said that because growth has not the strength to subsist in itself it requires nourishment in order that its being be sustained.<sup>6</sup> But it is necessary for us to return to our first subject, and we therefore will say that:

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<sup>1</sup> The simile may ultimately derive from an apocryphal Plato passage which is quoted in Moses of Narbonne's Preface to his *Commentary on Averroes' On the Possibility of Conjunction*, Mss Munich, 108 and 109, published by M. STEINSCHNEIDER in *Letterbode*, ed. M. ROEST, Amsterdam, 1883, p. 60: "As Plato said, The soul resembles the light of the sun entering through a variety of windows . . ."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Aristotle, *De memoria et reminiscencia*, I, 449b, 18-23, where it is said that scientific knowledge is to remember what one "learned" or "contemplated" whilst in the case of sense perception one remembers what one heard or saw. Plotinus rejects memory as useless for Intellect which eternally contemplates its objects but admits it for the soul both at its higher and lower phases, except when it achieves intellectual vision. See *Enn.* IV, 3, 25-30; 4, 1-2. For a discussion of Plotinus' theory of memory cf. P. V. PISTORIUS, *Plotinus and Neoplatonism*, 1952, pp. 105-8.

Aristotle's definition of the memory of scientific knowledge is reflected in Israeli's *Book of Definitions*, ed. HIRSCHFELD, p. 139. See H. A. WOLFSON, "Isaac Israeli on the Internal Senses," *Jewish Studies in Memory of George A. Kohut*, 1935, p. 593.

<sup>3</sup> The description of estimation and phantasy (imagination) as faculties of the animal soul goes back to Aristotle. See WOLFSON, *loc. cit.* pp. 586-7; F. RAHMAN, *Avicenna's Psychology*, 1952, pp. 78-83.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Aristotle, *De anima*, III, 9, 432a, 15.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Aristotle, *De anima*, II, 3, 415a, 432b.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Aristotle, *De part. anim.*, II, 3, 650a, 1: "Everything that grows must take nourishment." See also *De anima*, II, 4, 416b, 10-19.



After the nature of the vegetative soul had come into being, a radiance and splendour went forth from it like the radiance and splendour which had gone forth from the other substances, and from this the nature of the sphere came into being. Its radiance and splendour are less than the radiance of all those we have mentioned before, on account of which it is corporeal, and its motion is circular, perfect and simple as its Creator, blessed be He, appointed it for the sake of influencing coming-to-be and passing-away in this world.

§2 From the motion of the sphere the warmth of fire, i.e. the elemental fire, which is one of the four elements, came into being.<sup>1</sup>

Proof of our assertion may be seen in the testimony of corporeal objects such as stones and iron which when held and rubbed against each other produce fire as a result of the friction.<sup>2</sup> We need, however, not prolong this discussion and thereby deviate from our line of inquiry.

When as a result of the motion of the sphere the nature of fire had come into being and the warmth moved away from its radiance and root, it diminished and dissipated. From this the nature of air came into being, the nature of fire being warm and dry, and the nature of air being warm and moist. After the nature of air had come into being and after it had moved away from the root of fire, its warmth continued to diminish, dissipate and moisten, and from this the nature of water came into being. After the nature of water had come into being and after it had moved away from the air, its warmth and moisture diminished, coldness befell it, and it lowered itself to the production of sediment, refuse and dry mud. From this the nature of earth came into being.<sup>3</sup> The ancients are therefore agreed in saying that the nature of fire is warm and dry, the nature of air warm and moist, the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Aristotle, *Meteor.* I, 3, 340b, 12: "The circular motion of the first element (ether) and of the bodies it contains . . . generates heat."—*De caelo* II, 6, 289a, 30ff.: "The air underneath the sphere of the revolving body is . . . heated by its motion."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Aristotle, *De caelo*, II, 6, 289a: "The warmth and light which proceed from them (sc. the stars) are caused by the friction set up in the air by their motion. Movement tends to create fire in wood, stone and iron."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Aristotle, *Meteor.* I, 3, 339a, 36; *De gen. et corr.* II, 4; *De caelo*, III, 6 and 7; see, however, *De gen. et corr.* II, 5, 332b, where A. proves that since the elements are transformed into one another, it is impossible for any one to be an "originative source" of the rest.

nature of water cold and moist, and the nature of earth cold and dry.<sup>1</sup>

- 16v It follows that the air which is attached to the sphere/became fire as a result of the friction caused by the perpetual, unceasing motion.<sup>2</sup> The ancients, therefore, called the air which is attached to the sphere "moving fire" on account of the perpetuity of the motion and the revolving movement around it . . . . The reason for the progressive degradation is that every force which emanates from something strong, and every motion caused by a moving agent, and every stroke delivered by one who strikes will be very powerful when near the source but it will fail or weaken when remote from it. This will serve to illustrate what has been said.

After the natures of the four elements which are the first roots had come into being as a result of the perfect, circular and simple motion of the sphere, they mixed, combined and penetrated one another. From this, combinations of coldness, warmth, dryness and moisture, i.e. composite bodies and substances came into being, and the natures of animals, plants and minerals arose.

- §3 Every animal inclines towards the element which predominates in it. Thus fire and air predominate in fowl whilst the other elements in them are feeble. On this account they (i.e. fowl) incline towards that which is predominant in them. Those (animals) in which water and earth predominate incline towards the latter such as fish, in the nature of which water predominates. For this reason they swim and dive in water precisely as fowl incline towards their own nature and fly in the air. Those (animals) in which earth predominates incline towards that particular nature such as cattle in which earth predominates. For this reason they are four-footed and their face is continually turned towards the earth. Their being is not balanced and their limbs are disposed facing the earth. The nature of man, however, is balanced and blended, and no one element holds sway over him more than the other. Hence the fire

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Aristotle, *De gen. et corr.* II, 3, 330b, 4-6.

<sup>2</sup> See note 11. As to the difficulty of assuming air being ignited whilst the uppermost element is fire, cf. J. L. Strock's note on *De caelo*, II, 6, 289a in *The Works of Aristotle*, ed. W. D. Ross, 1922.

takes its path upward towards his head, and, similarly, the earth drops downward towards his feet.<sup>1</sup> His being is therefore balanced and blended by virtue of the equality of the elements and roots in him. But no one lacking such equality can be perfect in being and existence.

Proof of the correctness of our statement lies in the fact that fish are not perfect in being and existence in spite of water being predominant in them. Those in which water and earth predominate and which also contain the other elements possess the red bile and blood. They also possess, besides the heart, lungs and the faculty of respiration by which to "draw" cold air, pump it into the lobes of the lung, and to expel the respired, hot air by contraction and relaxation. But fish have neither lungs nor heart.<sup>2</sup> For this reason they are able to exist in water. They possess but a little of the nature of air in their blood. They therefore perish when out of water. When fish fill their belly with water, they shut their mouth, open their gills, and expel the water that way. The beasts of the field have no such faculty. For this reason their belly swells and they perish when entering water and swallowing it. For when water fills their belly, no passage is available by which to pass out, as they do not possess the faculty of fish. Frogs exist in water and we find that their development takes place therein. They possess two faculties combined. Likewise, water-birds such as the 'agron<sup>3</sup> and similar ones possess respiration by which to exist in the air, and an additional faculty by which to exist in water to swim and dive therein. They therefore

17r exist/both in air and water.

§4 Proof of the fact that all created beings are composed of the four elements lies in their behaviour. For man who belongs to the order of created beings depends on food, drink and respiration. Moreover, it is the behaviour of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Aristotle, *De part. animal.*, II, 7, 653a, 30ff.: "Man alone stands erect . . . For the heat . . . makes growth take its own line of direction, which is from the centre of the body upwards." See also II, 10, 656a; III, 1, 662b, 20; II, 7, 669b, 5; IV, 10, 687a, 1. IV, 10, 686a says of man's upright stature that it is "in accordance with his godlike nature and essence."

<sup>2</sup> This contradicts Aristotle's statement that "no sanguineous animal is without a heart" (*De part. animal.* III, 4, 666a). A. says, moreover, distinctly "that even in fish the heart holds the same position as in other animals." See *ibid.* 666b; *De resp.* 16, 478b, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, we have not been able to establish the identity of this water-bird.

every nature to return to its nature. The first nature is simple, as we have said. But the nature found in man is composite and mixed, not simple. It consists of the red bile, the blood, the black bile and the phlegm. These natures correspond to the first simple natures: the red bile to the fire, the blood to air, the phlegm to water and the black bile to earth. For the red bile is warm and dry, the blood warm and moist, the phlegm cold and moist, and the black bile cold and dry. The composite natures which enable us to grow require something from the first natures to sustain and nourish them. All animals and plants depend on them, and in the end return to them. Proof of this may be seen in man. For if he lacks one of the four natures, his being and existence is not complete. Moreover, if he does not eat food which is of the nature of earth, and if he does not imbibe fluids which are of the nature of water, and if there is absent from him the elemental warmth which is of the nature of fire, or if there occurs a suspension of breathing which is of the nature of air, he immediately dies since his being is incomplete. The plants likewise, although restricted to the motion of growth, are nevertheless, like man, capable of an elemental perception. They therefore grow if supplied with sweet rain water, and dry up and perish in salty and sulphuric waters. It is also their behaviour that if one of the natures, e.g. water, is denied to them their growth is incomplete. Similarly, if they are supplied with water but subsequently denied the warmth of the sun—the equivalent of the elemental warmth in man—their growth and existence will be incomplete. Likewise, if wind and air do not blow at them, they fail to grow. Likewise, if they grow within water or in places such as the basement of a house where the warmth of the sun cannot reach them, their being will be incomplete. It is therefore clear that all created beings are composed of the four natures and return to them.

§5 Should one argue that the created beings are made from one single nature,<sup>1</sup> we say that in that case they would not

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Aristotle, *De gen. et corr.*, II, 3, 330b; II, 5, 332a, 5ff.; *De caelo*, III, 4, 5.—Al-Sharastānī, *Milal wa-l-nihāl* (ed. CURETON), p. 343 reports Themistius as having said that according to Aristotle, Plato, Theophrastus, Porphyry and Plutarch the world consists of one single nature.



be liable to corruption and decay. The cause of their corruption is their return to the elements which are their root and origin. Another proof: If man were made of one single nature, he would not be divisible into parts. Moreover, he would have to derive his nourishment and growth from one single thing. The cause of his (divisibility into) parts and of diseases lies in the preponderance of certain elements and natures over others. For this reason, simple, uncompounded substance such as the higher beings, i.e. the heavens and all their host do not change nor decay but exist perpetually. The cause of their perpetuity is the fact that they are of one single nature and therefore perpetually remain in their original being. They are not composed of the four elements, as is the case with us, which are liable to return to their original place and being, i.e. the great elements, causing man to be overwhelmed by death and corruption. Another proof: such beings as do not contain a large amount of composition and mixture do not readily submit to corruption and decay as man does. A case in point are trees, 17<sup>v</sup> for their amount of composition is small. Therefore, they enjoy a somewhat prolonged existence and endure for some length of time, provided their nourishment is balanced and well-blended. For when they are supplied with too much water they immediately perish.

§6 We further want to know why some animals more than others are endowed with cognition and discretion like man; also why some plants more than others possess a fragrant scent. Instances are the musk, amber and suchlike, and dogs, doves and similar beasts and birds which are endowed with discrimination and cognition approximating to the cognition of man. All this is due to the souls' inclinations towards one another. We mean to say that the rational soul sometimes inclines in its actions towards the actions of the animal soul which desires to eat, drink and be glad. Likewise, the animal soul inclines in its action towards the rational soul when instructed and influenced by it. Similarly, it is the nature and faculty of the vegetative soul in this world to sustain the plants. A plant, however, which is capable of receiving the influence of the spiritual substances thereby becomes more fragrant than others. Similarly, animals differ from one

another in the way they receive the influence of the spiritual substances and the degree of their mixture, be it large or small, as we explained above. For the spiritual natures influence and are influenced in the same way in which the small natures depend on the great ones and are influenced by them. As to man who is a species of animal, we find that when that soul of his which is nearest to intellect achieves perfection, he becomes perfect, clear-minded and truthful, and he will pursue the things which are good and true such as knowledge and understanding, purity and holiness, the worship and nearness of his Creator, blessed be He, and that which attaches the creatures to the Creator, like the souls of the prophets, peace be upon them, which are attached unto Him. All this derives from (the influence of) the uppermost substance. When, however, the rational soul inclines towards the lower substance, i.e. the animal soul, it will pursue the things which are vile, evil and corrupt such as homicide, theft, falsehood and lust. It will abandon the good things, despise the pious and just, love the foolish and wicked, despise also those possessed of understanding, knowledge and goodness. This is due to the lower influence. When both the rational and animal souls incline towards the vegetative soul, man will thereby be prone to pursue unworthy things such as excessive eating and drinking and the desire for the enjoyment of this world only. When the vegetative soul inclines towards the animal soul, and the animal soul in turn inclines towards the rational soul, and the rational soul in turn inclines towards intellect, man will thereby be balanced in his actions and pursue the good things such as the quest for wisdom and knowledge. His desire for food and drink will be balanced and moderate, and likewise his desire for the pleasures of this world. Whenever a man's soul inclines excessively towards some particular soul, he will incline towards the actions peculiar to the soul attracting him. For this reason it was necessary for the Creator to create man as a perfect creature and to endow him with the rational soul and intellect. He ordained and appointed it (*sc.* intellect) to support him in order that he may abandon all lower influences which are of an earthly nature. He who is possessed of intellect will know and consider that the

18r Creator, His Name be blessed, did not create it (*sc.* intellect) without purpose but for the benefit of man. Every wise man is therefore obliged to seek and examine the truth, and those possessed of intellect must join in discussion with one another in order to clarify/the truth. He therefore made it incumbent upon man to receive reward for the good and punishment for evil. Likewise, when the souls of animals move them 'to incline towards the rational soul, some cognition will be found in them according to the degree of their inclination towards the rational soul, be it large or small. For we find that the hawk and similar birds listen to the voice of man calling them and return to him. Similarly, domesticated doves fly back to their cote in the evening, nest there, know their lodging-place and always return to it. Likewise, the dog discriminates between his master and strangers. A plant, on the other hand, which has a balanced and proper mixture, and whose vegetative soul inclines towards the animal soul will possess a fragrant scent according to the degree of the soul's inclination towards the (higher) soul. Each soul supports and instructs the other, as we have mentioned, and is instructed and supported by the other, as we have said. For intellect is strengthened and instructed by the Creator, His Name be blessed, and instructs and supports the rational soul. The rational soul is instructed and supported by intellect, and instructs and supports the animal soul. The animal soul is instructed and supported by the rational soul, and instructs and supports the vegetative soul. The vegetative soul is instructed and supported by the animal soul. It is instructed and supported but does not itself instruct and support because there is nothing below it to be instructed and supported. For below it are the natures and the sphere.<sup>1</sup>

§7 In speaking here of "below" and "above" we use these terms metaphorically in order to approximate the subject-matter to our comprehension. For in the sphere there is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Al-Shayḥ al-Yunānī's statement in the text of the Bodleian Ms published by FR. ROSENTHAL, *Orientalia*, 21, N.S., Rome, 1952, pp. 489, 491: "The impression of the Creator is the intellect . . . The impression of the intellect is soul . . . Each form thus continues to make an impression . . . Eventually, a thing is reached which receives an impression but does not make one. The very first thing makes an impression without being impressed, and the last thing receives an impression without making one."

neither void nor fulness, neither place nor time. None of the simple substances and spiritual souls require time or place. Nor are they in time or place but they are the place for time and place. The ancients had a profound understanding of "place" and described it as the place for what is below it.<sup>1</sup>

§8 We will further say that every cause has a cause. That cause must be either the first or second or third or fourth or fifth or a further cause. If the cause assumed to be first has a cause and that other cause a cause, and so *ad infinitum*, this cannot be true. For if we were to say that the first cause has a cause and the third is cause to it (*sc.* the second) *ad infinitum*, this would be tantamount to affirming that things have no first cause nor beginning.<sup>2</sup> If that were so, there would be no difference between such a statement and our saying that every agent has an agent and that agent an agent *ad infinitum*, from which it would follow that all agents are acted upon and that there exist only such (agents) as are acted upon, not such as are but agents. But this is not true, for that which is caused has a cause which is not caused, and that cause is one, not more, and it is the Agent who is not acted upon.<sup>3</sup> He is the Creator, His Name be blessed. Therefore the wise philosopher, Aristotle, said, "Blessed and praised be God who is the cause of causes, the First without beginning, the Agent who is not acted upon."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Plotinus, *Enn.* III, 7, 11: "In fact, as the world moves in the soul (for the sensible universe has no other place than the soul) it also moves in the time which belongs to this soul." See also D. KAUFMANN, *Studien über Salomon Ibn Gabirol*, 1899, p. 20, where the text of the pseudo-Empedocles fragment reflects the same Plotinian doctrine: "There is, therefore, no doubt that it (*sc.* the soul) is the place of the world, and not the world its place."

In the Jewish theological tradition God is "the place of the world." Cf. *Gen.* r. 68, 9; Philo, *Somn.* I, ii, 63; *Fug.* 14, 75; *Leg. All.* I, 14, 44. On the native Jewish origin of this concept see A. MARMORSTEIN, *The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God*, I, 1927, pp. 92-93, quoted by H. A. WOLFSON, *Philo*, I, 1947, p. 248, n. 44.

Occasionally, Philo calls the *Logos* "place." Cf. *Somn.* I, 65-70. John of Damascus (*De fide orth.*, ed. MIGNE, col. 852) follows Philo in calling both God and the *Logos* a "place."

<sup>2</sup> The basis of this argument is the principle that "If there is no first there is no cause at all." Cf. Aristotle, *Metaph.*, II, 2, 994a, 18-19.

<sup>3</sup> The designation of God as the "first Agent" instead of the "first Cause" is characteristic of Kalam. See MAIMONIDES, *Guide*, I, 69. Our text uses both terms.

<sup>4</sup> We have not been able to trace this apocryphal benediction quoted in the name of Aristotle.



§9 Thus we have stated here what we intended to explain of the words of the philosopher by way of arguments and proofs and where he finished his words, by what other philosophers have mentioned, with the help of the Creator, His Name be blessed and His Remembrance be exalted, Amen.

End of the Chapter of the Elements, Praise unto God unto Whom it is good to render thanks.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ps. 92, 2.

בהא'  
שער היסודות לארסטון

- 16r  
1 אמר ארסטון הפלוסוף החכם בחכמת היוני', כי ראשית השרשים כלם הם ב' גרמי'  
פשוטי', הא' מהם היסוד הראשון המקבל הצורה, הידוע אצל הפילוסופי'  
כשיש השרשי' והוא הגרם הראשון העומד בעצמו המקבל החלוקה, והב' הצורה הגרמית  
המעותרת להתלבש על הגרם והיא החכמה השלימה והזיו המהור והזהר הצח אשר כאשר  
5 התחבר עם היסוד הראשון היה מזה תולדת השכל וצורתו לפי שהוא מורכב מהם, וכאשר היה תולדת השכל וצורתו וזיוו התנוצץ ממנו זיו וזהר כזיו המתנוצץ מן מראות  
הזכוכית המושמי' בחלונות המרחצאות והתיכלות כאשר נופל עליהם זיו השמש וזהר  
והיה מזה תולדת הנפש המדברת, וכאשר היה תולדת הנפש המדברת התנוצץ ממנה  
זיו וזהר כזיו המתנוצץ ממראות הזכוכית ויהיה מזה תולדת הנפש הבהמית והיה זיוה וזהר  
10 פחות מזיו השכל וזהר ולכן זאת הנפש כסלית וצריכה להתלמד ולהזכיר, וכאשר היה תולדת הנפש הבהמית התנוצץ ממנה כזיו המתנוצץ מן הראשונים והיה מזה תולדת הנפש  
הצומחת והיה זיוה וזהרה פחות מן הזיו' הראשוני' ויותר היא עממה ולכן הנפש הבהמית  
מתגלגלת ונעה ובעלת הרגש והנפש הצומחת נפרדת ממנה בתנועת הגידול והצמיחה  
והלידה ולא תנוע כא' תנועת הצמיחה / ולכן אמר הפילוסוף בספר ענין הנפש כי הצמיחה  
15 לפי שלא התחזק לעמוד בעצמה הוצרכה להתפרנס כדי שיתחזק הויתה וצמיחתה, וצריכים  
אנו להזכיר לענין דברינו הראשון ונדבר בו ונאמר כי / הנפש הצומחת כאשר היה תולדת  
התנוצץ ממנה זיו וזהר כזיו וזהרה המתנוצץ משאר הגרמי' והיה מזה תולדת הרקיע  
והיה זיוו וזהרו פחות מזיו כל מה שהקדמנו ולכן הוא בעל גוף ותנועתו תנועה סובבת  
שלמה פשוטה כאשר החזיקם בוראם ית' שמו לכוונת ההויה וההשחתה בזה העולם ויהיה מתנועת הרקיע חום האש והוא האש היסודי אשר הוא אחד מהצורות הד',  
20 / והראיה שהוא כמו שאמרנו מה שנעיד מן הדברים הגופיי' הנתפשים והנחכבי' זה עם זה כמו האבני' והברזל אשר מחכוכם תבער האש וכן שאר הדברי', ולא נצרכנו להאריך  
בזה כדי שלא לצאת מדרך העיון, / וכאשר היה תולדת האש מסבת תנועת הגלגלי' ויתרחק

16r This sentence belongs to line 8, after [השלימה] 10 ולהזכיר ... ולכן] 12. The present text should read זאת הנפש חושבת ויהיה מזה תולדת הנ' המדברת ולכן זאת הנפש חושבת. See RN, p. 403; BM, ch. 33; LTh, §2. PA copies our faulty text. 12 ומדמה. See PA, p. 83, line 26 and note 7. 19 מהיסודות [מהצורות] 20 החזיקם בוראה [החזיקם בוראם]

החום מיוזו ומשרשו יתמעט חומו ויתמוגג ויהיה מזה תולדת האויר, ותולדת  
 האש  
 25 חם ויבש ותולדת האויר חם ולח, וכאשר היה תולדת האויר ויתרחק משרש  
 האש יתמעט  
 חומו וישכך ויתמוגג ויתלחלח ויהיה מזה תולדת המי', וכאשר היה תולדת המי'  
 ויתרחק מן  
 האויר יתמעט חומו ולחיותו ויקרהו קור ויתרפס לעשות שמרי' ופסולת וימיט יבש  
 ויהיה  
 מזה תולדת הארץ, ולכן הסכימו הקדמוני' ואמרו כי תולדת האש חם ויבש,  
 ותולדת האויר  
 חם ולח, ותולדת המי' קר ולח, ותולדת הארץ קר ויבש, / למדנו כי האויר המחובר  
 בגלגלי'

16v

1 נהיה אש מן סבת החכוך והתנועה התמידה אשר לא נפסק, ולכן קראו הראשוני'  
 האויר  
 המחובר בגלגלי' אש הנע מסבת התמידת התנועה והסבוב עליו, כי כל כח היוצא  
 מהזק וכל  
 תנועה ממניע וכל מכה ממכה היא כאשר היא קרובה ממנו היא חזקה מאד  
 וכאשר היא  
 מתרחקת היא נכשלת ונחשלת, וזה משל למה שאמרנו כי המכה כאשר היא  
 קרובה מן המכה  
 5 יותר היא חזקה וכאשר נתרחק ממנו נכשל ונחלש, / וכאשר נהיה תולדת היסודות  
 הד' אשר הם  
 השרשי' הראשוני' בסבת תנועת הגלגלי' תנועה שלימה סובבת פשוטה יתמוגגו  
 ויתערבו זה בזה  
 ונכנסו זה בזה ויהיה מזה הקור והחום והיובש והלחות המורכבי' והוא הרכבת  
 הגופי' המורכבי'  
 והגרמי' ויהיה מזה תולדת בעלי חיי' והצמחי' והמתכות, ומה שיהיה מבעלי  
 החיי' שיתגבר  
 עליו א' מן היסודות הוא מתגבר כי נוטה אל היסוד הנגבר עליו, כאשר תראה  
 העוף שנגברו  
 10 עליו האש והאויר והיסודות האחר' נתמעטו בו לכן הוא נוטה יותר למה שנגבר  
 עליו,  
 ומה שנגבר עליו מכה המי' וארץ נוטה עליהם כמו הדגי' שנגברו על תולדותם  
 המי', לכן  
 הם שמי' ושחי' במים כמו שעושים העופות שהם נוטים לתולדותם והם עפי'  
 באויר, ומה  
 שנגבר עליו מכה הארץ הוא נוטה לתולדת אשר נגבר עליו כמו הבהמות אשר  
 נגברו  
 עליהם הארץ ולכן הן חולכות על ד' ופניהם אל הארץ תמיד ואין עמידתם  
 ממוצעת אכן הן נשטחות  
 15 כשטה הארץ, אבל האדם תולדתו ממוצעת וממוסכת ולא יגברו עליו היסודות  
 זה יותר על  
 זה ולכן תאחז האש דרכו לעלות למעלה אל ראשו והארץ כמו כן דרכה לרדת  
 למטה לרגליו  
 לכן יתמצע ויתמסך עמידתו בכח היסודות והשרשי' השוי' בו ואין אחד מהם  
 לא תשתלם לא

שלמה [שלימה 6. אשר עמהם] אשר הם 5. There follows a lacuna. [עליו 2 16v  
 [ואין אחד . . . קימה 18—17] to be deleted. [והארץ 11] to be deleted. [הוא מתגבר כי 9  
 ואם אין היסודות שוים בו אין אחד מהם לא תשתלם לו עמידה Corrupt. Possibly  
 וקימה]

- עמידה ולא קימה, / וראיה כי כן הוא כאשר אמרנו כי הדג' אעפ' שגבר עליהם מהם  
לא תשלם לא עמידה ולא קימה, וראיה כי כן הוא כאשר עליהם המי' והארץ יש בהם היסודות
- 20 האחרות כי יש להם המרה האדומה והדם, ויש לו ריאה גם בו כח הנשימה להכניס האויר הקר ולנפח בכנפי הריאה עם הלב, ותוציא בה ההבל הישן והחם בקבוצ הריאה ובפתיחתה, אבל הדג' אין להם ריאה ולא לב ולכן הם יכולי' לעמוד בתוך המי', ויש בהם מתולדת האויר מעט שהוא הדם ולכן כאשר הם יוצאי' מן המי' הם מתי' והדג' כאשר ימלאו את בטנם מן המי' יסתמו את פיהם ויפתחו את אזניהם ויצאו המים בהם,
- 25 וחית השדה אין בה זה הכח ולכן כאשר היא נכנסת במי' ויכנסו בפיה וצבתה בטנה ותמות לפי כי כאשר נתמלא בטנה מי' אין לה מקום מוכן לצאת בו המים ואין לה כח ככה הדג' והצפרדעי' הנמצאי' במי' ורואי' אנו בהם שהם מתגשמי' ויש בהם ב' כחות ממוסכות כמו כח העוף אשר במי' כמו האגרן והדומה לו שיש להם הנשימה והוא עומד באויר וכח אחר אשר בו עומד במי' ושט ושוחה בהם וכן עוף המי' יש בו ב' כחות ממוסכי' ולכן הוא עומד
- 17r  
1 באויר ובמי', וראיה על זה כי כל הנבראי' כלם מורכבי' מד' יסודות מנהגם כי האדם שהוא א' מן הנבראי' הוא צריך לאכילה ושתיה ולנשימה, וכן המנהג כי כל תולדת שבה אם תולדתה, והנה התולדת הראשונה הוא כאשר אמרנו והיא פשוטה אבל התולדת אשר היא באדם היא נמזגת ונרכבת ואינה פשוטה והיא המרה והמרה השחורה, והלחה, ואלו התולדות והטבעי' כנגד התולדות הראשונות הפשוטות, המרה האדומה כנגד האש, והדם כנגד האויר, והמרה השחורה כנגד הארץ, והלחה כנגד המי', כי המרה האדומה חמה ויבשה, והדם חם ולח, והלחה קרה ולחה, והמרה השחורה קרה ויבשה, והטבעי' הממוסכי' המגדילי' והמצמיחי' אותנו צריכי' למה שיחזיקם ויפרנסם מהטבעי' הראשוני' וכל בעלי חיי' וצמחי' צריכי' אליהם וסופם לשוב להם, וראיה על זה האדם כי האדם אם נחסר ממנו א' מן הטבעי' הארבע לא תשתלם לו עמידה וקימה, וכן אם לא יאכל האדם המאכלים שהם מתולדת הארץ ולא ישתה המשקין שהן מתולדת המי' ולא יהיה בו החום היסודי
- 10

ibid. insert לא תשתלם לו עמידה וקימה [לא . . . קימה 19 . מים] מהם 18 16v  
ממוסכים] (ממוסכות. ibid. רואים [ורואים 27 . עליהם and כאשר גוברים  
dittography. [וכן . . . ממוסכי' 29 ובו [והוא

והיא המרה האדומה 'והדם' 4 . שבה אל [שבה אם 3 17r



- שהוא מתולדת האש או שנפסקה ממנו הנשימה שהוא תולדת האויר מיד הוא מת ולא תשתלם לו הויה, וכן הצמחי' אעפ' שאין להם תנועה כא' הצומחת אעפכ' הם נרגשי' כמו האדם הרגשה יסודית ולכן הם נצמחי' ונגדלי' במי המטר המתוקי' ונשחתי' ונתיכשי' 15
- במי' המלוחי' ובמי גפרית וכן מנהגם שאם נמנע מהם א' מן המבעי' כמו המים לא תשתלם להם צמיחה, וכן אם הם נשקי' במי' ואחכ' ימנע מהם חם השמש אשר הוא לו במקום האש היסודי אשר באדם לא תשתלם להם צמיחה ולא קימה, וכן אם לא תנשב עליהם הרוח והאויר לא יצמחו, וכן אם יגדלו בתוך המי' או במקום שלא יפול עליהם חום השמש כמו מקום תחתיות הבתי' לא תשתלם להם הויה, והנה נתבאר כי הנבראים 20
- כלם נרכבי' מן המבעי' הד' ושבי' למח שנרכבו ממנו, ואת' הנבראי' נבראו מטבע אחד לא היו נשחתי' ולא נהרסי' אלא סבת השחתתם שישבו אל יסודותם שהם שרשם ויסודם, וראיה אחרת על זה אם האדם היה נרכב מטבע אחד לא היה נחלק לחלקי' וכן היה לו להתפרנס ולהתגדל מן דבר אחד אלא סבת חלקיו וחלאיו בתגברת היסודות והמבעי' זה על זה ולכן יתיה הגרם הפשוט שאין בו הרכבה כמו האישי' העליוני' שהם השמי' וכל צבאם 25
- לא ישתנו ולא יתרסו ותמיד הם קיימי' וסבת התמדת קיומם לפי שהם מדבר אחד והם תמיד בהיותם היסודית ואינם מן היסודות הגדי' אשר בנו אשר הם מזומני' לשוב אל מקומם ולהיותם הראשון היסודי אשר הם היסודות הגדולי' ויהיה מזאת התגבורת מות האדם והשחתתו, וראיה אחרת על זה כי מי שאין בו ההרכבה וזוג המבעי' מרובה לא ישחת ולא יתרס מהרה כהשחתת האדם, כמו העצי' כי ההרכבה בהם מועטת ולכן 17v
- יאריכו קצת ויתמידו ארך עמידתם וקמתם וזה אם פרנסתם ממוצעת וממוסכת 1
- כי כאשר ירבו עליהם המי' הוא החם מיד נשחתי' וצריכי' אנו לדעת מפני מה יש בקצת בהמות הכרת והבחנה כמו באדם יותר מן האחרות, וכן בקצת הצמחי' תגבר עליהם ריה טוב יותר מן האחרות כמו המושק והענבר והדומה להם, והכלב והיוני' ודומיהם מן הבהמות והעופות, שבהם הבחנה והכרת קרוב להכרת האדם, וכל זה מפני סבת נמית הנפשות זה 5
- לזה, פירוש הדברי' כי הנפש המדברת פעמי' היא נוטה במעשיה אל מעשה הנפש הבהמית

הד' [הגדי' 26. חום] חם 16 17x

קרובה [קרוב 5. או חם] הוא החם 2. וקיטתם [וקמתם 1 17v

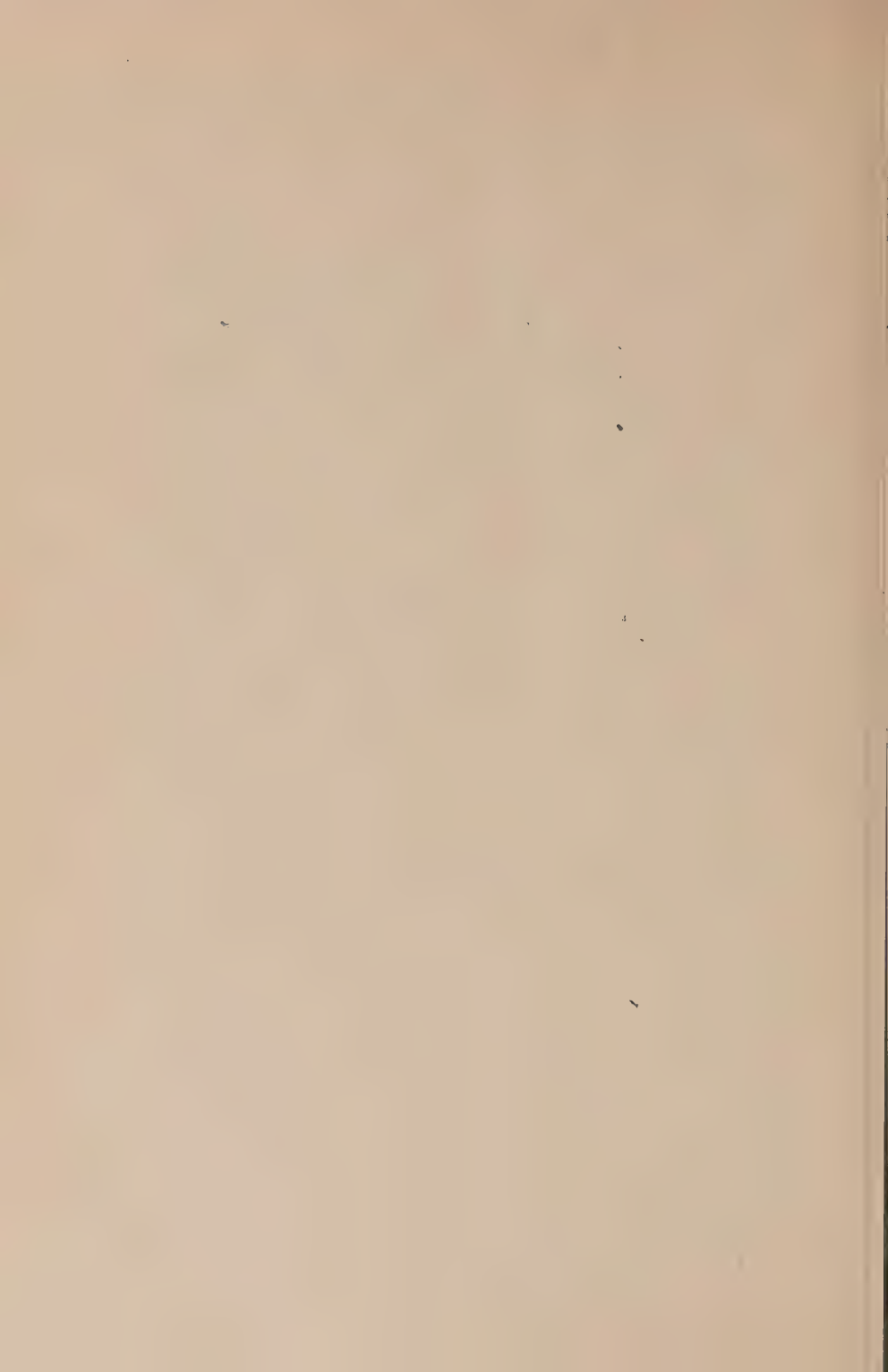
- שהיא מתאוה לאכול ולשתות ולשמות, וכן הבהמית היא נוטה אל המדברת במעשיה כאשר היא מלמדת ונעזרת ממנה, וכן הנפש הצומחת תולדתה וכחה בזה העולם להחזיק הצמחי
- אכן הצמח אשר יש בו כח לקבל עזר מן העניני' הרוחניי' ימצא בו ריח יותר מן האחרי'
- 10 ובה נפרדו בעלי החיי' זה מזה בקבלת ענין הגרמי' הרוחניי' ובקבלת מזיגתם בין רב למעט כמו שבארנו למעלה כי כמו שהטבעי' הקטני' צריכי' אל הגדולי' גם נעזרי' מהם, כן הטבעי' הרוחניי' עוזרי' ונעזרי' ומה שיש מבעלי החיי' כמו האדם שהוא כאשר תשלם
- נפשו הקרובה אל השכל בזאת יהיה האדם שלם וברור ונכון ורודף הדברי' הטובי' הנכוני'
- כמו הדעת והתבונה והטהרה והקדושה והעבודה לבוראו והקרבה אליו בח' והדברי' המדבקי'
- 15 הנברא כבורא כמו נפשות הנביאי' עת' שהם דבוקות בו וכל זה מענין העליוני וכאשר הנפש המדברת נוטה אל הענין התחתון זה הוא אל הנפש הבהמית היא רודפת אחרי הדברים המועלי' וחרעי' והנשחתי' כמו הרציה והגנבה והכזב והחמדה, ומרחקת מן הדברי' הטובי' ומאסת החסידי' ואנשי הצדק ואותבת אנשי הכסילות והרשעה וגם מואסת אנשי התבונה והדעת והטוב, זהו הענין התחתון, וכאשר יטו הנפש המדברת והבהמית אל הנפש הצומחת יהיה האדם עם זה רודף הדברי' שאינם נכוני' כמו האכילה והשתיה מרובה
- 20 והתאוה להנאת העולם הזה בלבד, וכאשר הנפש הצומחת נוטה אל הנפש הבהמית והנפש הבהמית נוטה אל הנפש המדברת והנפש המדברת נוטה אל השכל יהיה האדם עם זה שקול במעשיו ויהיה רודף הדברי' הטובי' כמו רחשת החכמה והדעת ותאות לאכילה ולשתיה שקולה וכינונית וכן לשאר הנאות העולם הזה, וכאשר תרבה א' מן הנפשות לנמות
- 25 אל האחרת יהיה האדם נוטה למעשה אותה הנפש הנמשך אחריה יותר ולכן היה צורך הבורא על האדם שבראו בריה שלמה ושם בו הנפש המדברת והשכל והכינון להחזיקו והתקינו כדי שיתרחק מכל העניני' התחתוני' אשר הם מתולדת הארץ, ומי שיש בו שכל ידע ויתבונן שלא בראו הבורא ית' שמו בחנם כא' לתועלת האדם לפיכך חייב
- כל חכם אשר באדם לדרוש ולתור האמת וצריכי' בעלי השכל לדקדק זה בזה עד שיתברר
- 18r
- 1 להם האמת ולכן נתן על האדם לקבל שכר טוב ולהפריע בפרעון רע, וכן הבהמות כאשר תמשכו נפשם לנמות אל הנפש המדברת ימצא בהם קצת מן ידיעה ומן חכרה כפי אשר נמצא אותם נומי' אל הנפש המדברת בין רב למעט כי מצאנו הנצי' והדומי' להם

ומתרחקת [ומרחקת 17 17v

תמשכו] [תמשכו 2 18r

- מִן הַעוֹפוֹת שֶׁהֵם מֵאֵינִי בְּקוֹל הָאָדָם הַקּוֹרֵא אוֹתָם וְשִׁבִי אֵלֵיהֶם, וְכֵן הַיּוֹנִי  
שֶׁאֵינוֹ מֵאֵינִי  
5 אוֹתָם בֹּאִי לְכַלּוֹבֵם לַעֲרֹב וַיִּקְוֶנּוּ שֶׁם וַיִּכִּירוּ אֶת מְלֹנֶם וְאֶת מְקוֹמָם וְשִׁבִי שֶׁם  
תָּמִיד  
וְכֵן הַכֶּלֶב שֶׁהוּא מְכִיר אֶת בַּעְלָיו וְכֵן הוּא מְכִיר הַנִּכְרִי אֲבָל הַצִּמָּח אֲשֶׁר מִזִּיגְתוֹ  
מִמּוֹצֵעַת  
וְנִכְוֶנָה וְנוֹטָה הַנֶּפֶשׁ הַצּוֹמַחַת אֶל הַנֶּפֶשׁ הַבְּהֵמִית יִהְיֶה בּוֹ רִיחַ טוֹב כְּפִי שִׁיעוֹר  
נִמְיֵת הַנֶּפֶשׁ אֶל  
הַנֶּפֶשׁ, אֵפֶי שֶׁכָּל נֶפֶשׁ מִן הַנֶּפֶשׁוֹת כֹּאשֶׁר זָכְרָנוּ כָּל א' מִהֵן מַחְזֶקֶת וּמַלְמֶדֶת חֲבֵרָתָהּ  
וּמַלְמֶדֶת וְנַחְזֶקֶת מִן חֲבֵרָתָה כְּמוֹ שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר כִּי הִשְׁכֵּל מוֹחֶזֶק וּמְלֻמֵּד מִן הַבּוֹרֵא  
יְת' שְׁמוֹ  
10 וּמְלֻמֵּד וּמוֹחֶזֶק הַנֶּפֶשׁ הַמְּדַבֶּרֶת וְהַמְּדַבֶּרֶת מְלֻמֵּדֶת וְנַחְזֶקֶת מִן הִשְׁכֵּל וּמַלְמֶדֶת  
וּמוֹחֶזֶק  
הַנֶּפֶשׁ הַבְּהֵמִית, וְהַבְּהֵמִית מְלֻמֵּדֶת וְנַחְזֶקֶת מִהַמְּדַבֶּרֶת וְהִיא מְלֻמֵּדֶת הַנֶּפֶשׁ  
הַצּוֹמַחַת וּמוֹחֶזֶק  
אוֹתָהּ, וְהַנֶּפֶשׁ הַצּוֹמַחַת מְלֻמֵּדֶת וְנַחְזֶקֶת מִהַבְּהֵמִית וְהִיא מְלֻמֵּדֶת וְנַחְזֶקֶת וְאֵינָהּ  
מְלֻמֵּדֶת וְלֹא  
מַחְזֶקֶת לִפִּי שֶׁאֵין תַּחְתִּיהָ עֵינִין אַחֵר מְלֻמֵּד וּמוֹחֶזֶק, אֲבָל תַּחְתִּיהָ הַטְּבָעִי וְהַרְקִיעִי,  
וְמֵה שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר  
כֹּאֵן תַּחַת וּמַעְלָה עַד הַמַּשָּׁל אֵנוֹ אוֹמְרִי כְּדִי לְהַקְרִיב הַדְּבָר אֶל מַדְעֵינוּ כִּי אֵין  
בְּרַקִּיעַ רֶקֶב  
15 וְלֹא מֵלָא וְלֹא מְקוֹם וְלֹא זֶמֶן וְכֹל הַגִּרְמִי הַפְּשׁוּטִי וְהַנֶּפֶשׁוֹת הַרוּחָנִיּוֹת אֵינָן  
צְרִיכוֹת  
לְזֶמֶן וּלְמְקוֹם וְאֵינָן בְּזֶמֶן וּבְמְקוֹם אֲבָל הֵם מְקוֹם לְזֶמֶן וּלְמְקוֹם, וְהַתְּרַחֵק  
הַקְּדָמוֹנִי  
בִּידְרִיעַת זֶה הַמְּקוֹם וְאָמְרוּ כִּי הוּא מְקוֹם לְמַה שֶׁתַּחְתּיו, וְכֵן נֶאֱמַר כִּי יֵשׁ לַעֲלוֹת  
עֵלָה וְלֹא  
תַּצֵּא זֹאת הָעֵלָה מִזֶּה אוֹ שֶׁתַּחֲתִּיהָ א' אוֹ שְׁנֵית אוֹ ג' אוֹ ד' אוֹ ה' אוֹ יוֹתֵר וְאֵם יֵשׁ  
לַעֲלָה רֵאשִׁית  
בַּחֲשֹׁבוֹן עֵלָה וְלַעֲלָה הָאַחֶרֶת עֵלָה עַד שֶׁאֵין לְדַבֵּר סוֹף וְזֶה דְּבָר שְׁלֹא יִתְכַּן, וְרֵאשִׁית  
עַל זֶה כִּי  
20 כֹּאשֶׁר נֶאֱמַר עֵלָה הָרֵאשׁוֹנָה לֹא עֵלָה וְהַג' לֹא עֵלָה בְּלֹא סוֹף לַחֲשֹׁבוֹן, וְיִהְיֶה מֵאִמֵּר  
הָאוֹמֵר  
כֵּן כִּי אֵין לְדַבְּרִי רֵאשׁוֹן וְרֵאשִׁית, וְאֵכֶּה הוּא אֵין הַפֶּרֶשׁ בֵּין דְּבָרָיו וּבֵין הָאוֹמֵר  
כִּי יֵשׁ לְכָל פּוֹעֵל  
פּוֹעֵל וְלֹזֶה הַפּוֹעֵל פּוֹעֵל עַד אֵין סוֹף לְדַבְּרִי נִמְצָאוּ כָּל הַפּוֹעֲלִי נִפְעֲלִי וְלֹא נִמְצָאוּ  
פּוֹעֵל אֲלֵא נִפְעֵל וְזֶה לֹא יִתְכַּן אֲלֵא לְמַעוֹלָל עֵלָה שֶׁאֵינָהּ מַעוֹלָלָת וְזֹאת הָעֵלָה אַחֶת  
וְלֹא יוֹתֵר  
וְהוּא הַפּוֹעֵל שֶׁאֵינוֹ פּוֹעֵל וְהוּא הַבּוֹרֵא יְת' שְׁמוֹ, וְלִכֵּן אִמֵּר הַפְּלוֹסוֹף הַחֲכָם  
אַרִיסְטוֹטֵלִים  
25 יְת' הָאֵל וְיְת' שֶׁהוּא עֵלָת הָעֲלוֹת וְרֵאשׁוֹן אֵין לוֹ רֵאשִׁית וּפּוֹעֵל וְלֹא נִפְעֵל, וְהִנֵּה  
דְּבָרָנוּ  
הִנֵּה מֵה שֶׁהִיא בְּדַעְתֵּינוּ לְבֹאֵר מַדְבְּרֵי הַפְּלוֹסוֹף בְּאוֹתוֹת וּבְרֵאיוֹת וְכֹאשֶׁר הִשְׁלִים  
אֶת דְּבָרָיו  
בְּמֵה שֶׁזָּכְרוּ בָּהֶם שֶׁאֵר הַפִּילוֹסוֹפִי, בַּעֲזֶרֶת הַבּוֹרֵא יְת' שְׁמוֹ וְיֵת' זָכְרוּ אִמֵּן.

מִלִּיק שַׁעַר הַיְּסוּדוֹת תַּחֲלָה לֹאֵל הַטּוֹב לוֹ לְהוֹדוֹת.





## *An Unknown Messiah of 1096 and the Emperor Alexius*<sup>1</sup>

IN the precious hoard of the Cairo Genizah there exists an intriguing document: a letter about an unknown false Messiah which has important implications, as yet not properly explored, regarding certain Jewish communities in the Byzantine Empire at the commencement of the First Crusade. This letter was first transcribed and printed, together with a short comment, by Neubauer in 1897.<sup>2</sup> The following year, it was discussed at some length by Kaufmann who did not, however, adequately relate it to a general historical background,<sup>3</sup> while the great pioneer of Byzantine Jewish studies, Samuel Krauss, was here unfortunately content to follow Kaufmann.<sup>4</sup> In 1925, Jacob Mann produced a new and more accurate transcription, but his main concern was to use it for his survey of Messianic movements during the crusading period rather than for any additional light it might throw on the normal life of the communities.<sup>5</sup> In 1939, Joshua Starr, whose untimely death was a severe blow both to Byzantine and to Jewish scholarship, published a translation of Mann's text among his invaluable collection of Byzantine Jewish sources.<sup>6</sup> This work, intended originally as part of a German sponsored series, eventually appeared at Athens and copies to-day are very scarce. To illustrate, therefore, the discussion which follows, here is Starr's version of the story of this unknown Messiah<sup>7</sup>:—

I. . . . . Now, although the threshing floor is not yet filled, know you, our brethren, blessed of the Lord, that in this year the promise of our God has been fulfilled: an innumerable multitude

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<sup>1</sup> I am greatly indebted to Mr. ARYEH RUBINSTEIN for his assistance in this essay.

<sup>2</sup> JQR IX (1897), pp. 27-29.

<sup>3</sup> D. KAUFMANN, "A Hitherto Unknown Messianic Movement among the Jews," JQR X (1898), pp. 139-151, and in *Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*, Berlin, (1898).

<sup>4</sup> S. KRAUSS, *Studien zur byzantinisch-jüdischen Geschichte*, Leipzig (1914), pp. 47-62.

<sup>5</sup> J. MANN, "Ha-tenuoth ha-meshlihiyoth bi-yemey masa'ey ha-šelav ha-rishonim," *Ha-Tequfah* XXIII (1925), pp. 243-261. The letter is transcribed on pp. 253-259.

<sup>6</sup> J. STARR, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire* (641-1204, Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechischen Philologie, Bd. 30, Athens (1939).

<sup>7</sup> STARR, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-206. The letter has been divided into numbered paragraphs for convenient reference, and biblical quotations at the beginning of (I), at the end of (II) and following "the words of Daniel" in (IV) have been omitted.

of Franks has come, with their wives and all their money, and the Lord has gathered them into the threshing floor. When the Gentiles and the Jews asked of them, "Why have you abandoned your homes and your land?" their leaders reply, "The mountains of darkness have drawn near to us and now they are revealed to us in a great light." We saw a nation with innumerable tents and we did not recognise their language. One man stepped forth from their midst and said to us, "Go on your way." Thus we have come to you. Thus we have been pursued and have arrived.<sup>1</sup>

II. We said, "Surely God has fulfilled His promise: 'To them that are in darkness, show yourselves.' " These are the other . . .<sup>2</sup> . . . tribes. And when all the Franks shall have gone to Palestine and the threshing floor shall have been filled, then will God say, "Arise and thresh, o daughter of Zion . . . . ."

III. All the congregations have been stirred and have repented before God with fasting and almsgiving . . .<sup>2</sup> . . . those from Khazaria, as they said, seventeen communities, went out to the wilderness of the Gentiles, but we do not know whether they met with the tribes or not . . .<sup>2</sup> . . . from the land of France whence they had despatched a messenger bearing letters to Constantinople.<sup>3</sup> But we do not know as yet exactly what they contained, hence, we cannot communicate it to you.

IV. Now at Constantinople, . . .<sup>2</sup> . . . at Abydos near Constantinople, some small congregations have arisen in accordance with the words of Daniel . . . . . They said, "Elijah has revealed himself unto us." But, instead of receiving them, both we and the community of Constantinople, utterly excommunicated them.

V. Permit us to relate what transpired in Saloniki, in the holy community. There came foreigners, Jewish and Christian, and officials who reported that Elijah . . .<sup>4</sup> . . . had revealed himself openly and not in a dream to certain men of standing. They

<sup>1</sup> "The innumerable multitude" is called *ashkenazim*, almost certainly *Germans*, i.e. Crusaders (hence STARR calls them "Franks" as they were known in the East) and not German Jews, cf. MANN, *Ha-tequfah* XXIII, p. 260; S. POZNANSKI, *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie* XV (1911), p. 76. If they were Jews, as KAUFMANN, *op. cit.*, 142-143, believed, why should the writer of the letter not have recognised their language?

<sup>2</sup> Lacaunae in the Ms.

<sup>3</sup> In this paragraph, "the land of France" (פִּרְנַס) and "Constantinople" (מִלְקִיסְיָנִיָּה) are in an Arabic form, which may have some relevance to the provenance of the letter; cf. MANN, *Ha-tequfah* XXIII, p. 255, n. 7 & 8.

<sup>4</sup> Lacuna in the Ms.

witnessed many signs and miracles there which the Jews and Christians relate. He revealed himself to R. Eliezer b. R. Judah b. R. Eliezer the Great, and, as the foreigners say, he gave him a staff. It was the Christians, however, who, in good faith, gave the clearest version of the miracles which took place in Saloniki. The Jews are idly neglecting their work. R. Tobiah also sent a scholar with an open letter to Constantinople to appraise them of the good news. A Jewish fellow-townsmen of ours was there, who is somewhat learned. He saw the letter sent by R. Tobiah and it said, "Signs and miracles have taken place amongst us." Moreover, thus testified the Jew, Michael the German: He saw in R. Tobiah's letter that a totally blind man, Michael b. R. Aaron "the Chaver",<sup>1</sup> who is in Saloniki, has regained his eyesight. R. Nissim also knows that man. By an oversight, this Michael neglected to make a copy of this letter. Had he brought us one, we would have forwarded it to you to convince you.

VI. Moreover, we have definite information that R. Ebyatar ha-Cohen, the head of the academy, sent a letter from Tripolis to the community in Constantinople. Four men were there who saw the letter in the care of Lugiz the Christian. But they likewise did not take the trouble to bring us a copy, being ignoramuses.

VII. At the present time, we are looking forward to receiving letters from R. Tobiah and from the holy congregations. For we are amazed at the great miracle that has occurred in Saloniki, where the Christians have always hated the Jews most intensely, as R. Nissim knows. For had the signs and great miracles not taken place, and had the king not heard of it, not one of the Jews would have escaped. At the present time, they dwell in great security, free of the poll-tax and other<sup>2</sup> levies, they sit garbed in prayer-shawls and do no work. We do not know what they are expecting and we are in constant dread lest it become known to the Gentiles and they kill us. But, at the present time, the governor himself and the archbishop<sup>3</sup> say, "Oh Jews, why remain in Saloniki? Sell your homes and property—the Emperor protects them and no man may harm them. You have not

<sup>1</sup> For the significance of this title, cf. J. MANN, *The Jews in Egypt under the Fatimid Caliphs*, 2 vols., Oxford (1920) I, pp. 272-277.

<sup>2</sup> "other" is not in the text.

<sup>3</sup> This is certainly the meaning of קהנא; cf. MANN, *Ha-Tequfah* XXIII, p. 257, n. 4 and not "Patriarch" as in KAUFMANN.

yet set out, despite the fact that we have definitely learned that your Messiah has appeared.”

VIII. Praise be to God that we have no fear, and that we too have repented with fasting and almsgiving. Many fast daily and others on Monday and Thursday. They receive stripes and confess their sins. Before we got this report that in Saloniki both Jews and Christians were seeing visions, we knew nothing of the events in Saloniki. We refused to believe their words and used to rebuke them until a Jewish Cohen saw in a dream, before the matter was announced, that all Byzantine congregations were to gather in Saloniki and would leave from there. We rebuked them and said that they were the enemies of Israel until Tobiah came from Thebes, bringing a letter saying that signs and miracles had transpired in Saloniki, and that other congregations were gathering there. Soon Tobiah will come hither and will relate to you what he has heard and seen: thus the dream which the Jewish Cohen saw will come true.

IX. Now, our brethren, if God has vouchsafed you some happy report or good news—for we are aware of the things which our master, the head of the academy, has heard and knows—then do us the kindness of writing to us what you know and have heard. Have no fear, for even the king has heard of it, and we are not afraid. And if a letter should come from you, our entire community would be encouraged in their repentance. May God reward you well; may you be deemed worthy of experiencing His graciousness and of visiting His temple. I, Menahem, should like to go to Palestine<sup>1</sup> to see the Frankish soldiers passing in great number—I know not whither they will spread. May God defend you and us, Amen !

This is copied from the original in the possession of the illustrious R. Nissim . . . <sup>2</sup> . . . This is the letter which R. Menahem b. R. Elijah sent.

The main interest of this letter is obviously the additional information it gives about the Messianic excitement which the movement of vast numbers on the road to Jerusalem had aroused in the Jews. As such it is, perhaps, unusually detailed but by no

<sup>1</sup> שׁוּמָא = Palestine or Syria, cf. J. MANN, *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature*, Cincinnati (1931) I, p. 264 n.1. It cannot be Cairo as in KAUFMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Lacuna in Ms.



means unique:<sup>1</sup> its most valuable characteristic is its numerous references to individuals, most of them fairly satisfactorily identifiable, which help to establish both its date and its authenticity. Thus Rabbi Tobiah (paragraph V) is probably R. Tobiah ben Eliezer of Castoria (Western Macedonia) the author of a famous commentary on the Torah (written in 1097 C.E.),<sup>2</sup> R. Nissim (paragraph V) was appointed *dayyan* of the Babylonian community in Egypt in 1098 C.E.,<sup>3</sup> while R. Ebyatar ha-Cohen (paragraph VI) was the *gaon* of the Palestinian Academy at Jerusalem (1083-c.1105 C.E.).<sup>4</sup> It should be mentioned in passing that of the writer, Menaḥem b. Elijah himself, nothing is known,<sup>5</sup> while any conjecture on the provenance or destination of the letter from the material at present available is, almost certainly, entirely valueless.<sup>6</sup>

If the authenticity of this letter, despite the obscurities of its origin, be accepted (and it has never been denied), a number of important questions arise aside from its Messianic aspect which will not be treated in the present discussion. The assertion in paragraph VII that the community in Salonica was excused certain taxes has for long formed part of the material in the controversy on whether Jews in the Eastern Empire after the time of Justinian, that is, as distinct from Roman Jewry, were subject to a special tax.<sup>7</sup> Two terms are here used: נוללות

<sup>1</sup> A letter exists with somewhat similar phraseology describing Messianic movements, perhaps at a slightly later period, in the Morea and in Spain; cf. MANN, *Texts and Studies* I, pp. 34-44 and the controversy between MANN and KRAUSS in the *Hebrew Union College Annual* X, pp. 275-296 and 302-305.

<sup>2</sup> STARR, *op. cit.*, p. 216; MANN, *Ha-Tequfah* XXIII, p. 256 n. 6; cf. *Jewish Encyclopaedia* XII, pp. 169-171. KAUFMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 141, has no reason for suggesting that Tobiah "was the Chief Rabbi."

<sup>3</sup> MANN, *Jews in Egypt* I, p. 206; II, p. 101.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 182-192. He was not, as KAUFMANN says, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-1, the *nagid* of Egypt (a mistake copied by the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* I, p. 56) who was Meborak b. Saadya (c. 1079-1110 C.E.).

<sup>5</sup> He should not be confused with the better-known Menaḥem of Castoria, the fifteenth-century liturgist; cf. L. ZUNZ, *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie*, Berlin (1889), p. 386.

<sup>6</sup> MANN makes no attempt at such conjecture (*Ha-Tequfah* XXIII, p. 253 and p. 259); KAUFMANN, *op. cit.*, 139 and NEUBAUER, *op. cit.*, 26 are both rather misleading. It need hardly be pointed out that references to enquiries, etc. from various countries and towns *ipso facto* exclude them as possible places of origin.

<sup>7</sup> The two main contributions are by F. DÖLGER, "Die Frage der Judensteuer in Byzanz," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* XXVI (1933), pp. 1-24 supporting the existence of this tax and by A. A. ANDREADES, "Les Juifs et le fisc dans l'empire byzantine," *Mélanges Diehl*, Paris (1930) I, pp. 7-29 disputing it. In my article, "Byzantine Jewry in the Seventh Century," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* XLVIII (1955), pp. 112-114, I have tried to summarise the other material bearing on this problem.

and ענשים. The first is certainly equivalent to the poll-tax (κεφάλιον) payable by all citizens.<sup>1</sup> Kaufmann, reading ענשים from Neubauer's edition, took the second term to be in its dual form and simply translated it "double tax."<sup>2</sup> which would be weighty evidence of fiscal discrimination. But, apart from the grammatical difficulty which would then arise,<sup>3</sup> Mann has shown this reading to be incorrect. His photographic reproduction of this passage convinces that the word is in its simple plural form.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand Starr, to judge by his insertion of the word "other" into his translation,<sup>5</sup> apparently believed that ענשים was a vague reference to the numerous occasional taxes applicable to the whole population. This interpretation is also not entirely satisfactory. The use of two distinct terms, the second of which does inevitably suggest some of its original meaning of punishment, must imply something more.<sup>6</sup> This passage is evidence therefore, though certainly not conclusive, of the existence of a separate tax on Byzantine Jewry and is thus a part of the letter which future research on this problem will always have to take into account.

While some attention has been paid to the fiscal problem, another aspect of this passage seems to have attracted not the slightest comment. No one has remarked how generally surprising is the state of affairs which is described as existing in Salonica. Exact knowledge of the early medieval Jewish community there is, with the exception of the present passage, almost entirely confined to the information given by Benjamin of Tudela who says that it numbered five hundred, was oppressed, and lived by silk weaving,<sup>7</sup> although it is possible that the term used—מלאכת המשי—means the manufacture of silk garments rather than that of the cloth itself.<sup>8</sup> In either case, an

<sup>1</sup> Cf. DÖLGER, *op. cit.*, p. 14, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> KAUFMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 146, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> With NEUBAUER's pointing the word would be in its dual *pausal* form, inappropriate to its position in the text. The context form would require a *patah* in place of the *qames*.

<sup>4</sup> MANN, *Ha-Tequfah* XXIII, p. 255.

<sup>5</sup> STARR, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

<sup>6</sup> In the German version of his article (*Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*, I, Berlin, 1898), KAUFMANN called it "harder sensus" which is not supported by the text itself but may well suggest its meaning; in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* VII (1908) he has "other taxes" which is followed by KRAUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 51 and by STARR.

<sup>7</sup> *Sefer Masa'ot*, ed. and trans. M. N. ADLER, "The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela," JQR XVI (1904), text p. 718, trans. p. 727.

<sup>8</sup> ADLER, *ibid.*, prefers the former, STARR, *op. cit.*, p. 29, the latter alternative.

important point emerges. The silk industry of the Byzantine Empire, from the time of its establishment under Justinian (527-565 C.E.), was a government monopoly, and, by the tenth century, its workers had been rigidly organised into guilds. There were three "imperial" guilds (δημόσια) at Constantinople responsible for supplying the requirements of the Emperor and of his immediate entourage under the direct supervision of imperial officials, and five "private" guilds (σώματα), with provincial as well as metropolitan membership, consisting of (i) merchants (ii) importers (iii) clothiers and dyers (iv) spinners (v) makers of garments.<sup>1</sup> Into these five guilds entry was theoretically open to anyone—even to slaves—and it has been noted that the Comneni, the dynasty which began to reign in 1081, showed exceptional liberality in this respect to the Jews,<sup>2</sup> while it should always be borne in mind that the typical medieval restrictions on Jewish occupations were, broadly speaking, not applicable in the Byzantine Empire, at least before it fell under Western domination in 1204. There exists, therefore, the very strong probability that the majority of the Jews who on that day in the year 1096 C.E. in Salonica were sitting garbed in their prayer shawls and doing no work were members of the fourth or fifth δωματια. Now it is known, that these five δωματια, despite the liberality of entry and despite the fact that, unlike the three imperial guilds of the capital, they were not under direct imperial supervision but were supposedly private associations of free individuals, were, nevertheless very strictly controlled. Byzantium held the world monopoly of silk. It was thus at once its most valuable export and one which, for reasons of prestige, foreigners could only be allowed to acquire in certain inferior qualities and in jealously guarded quantities.<sup>3</sup> An important section of the famous *Book of the Prefect*—imperial regulations for trade and employment—dealt with the whole matter.<sup>4</sup> What, then, is the significance of the statement that workers in such an important industry, and those of an unloved, if not continually persecuted, minority, were suddenly granted a holiday from their labours ?

<sup>1</sup> R. S. LOPEZ, "The Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire," *Speculum* XX (1945), pp. 1-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

<sup>3</sup> LOPEZ, *op. cit.*, p. 22, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> ed. E. FRESHFIELD, Cambridge (1938).

This question raises the whole problem of the Jewish communities in the Empire at the beginning of the Crusades, as distinct from those in the West, where there is no dearth of melancholy information. There is little doubt that, after the decay of the Roman world, the Jews were able to achieve a greater degree of integration and social security in the Byzantine Empire than in the new kingdoms of the West. The persistence of an urban civilisation ensured that the Jew was less of an outcast than he inevitably became in relation to a closed feudal society. The Jew was able to enter a variety of occupations side by side with the other different races of the empire. He became scarcely ever a moneylender: the taking of interest, although restricted, was not prohibited—the Church itself engaged in banking operations. It would, of course, be absurd to suggest that the traditional discriminations had been abandoned or to deny that, under certain of the emperors, cruel persecutions and attempts at forced baptisms were launched. But these were exceptional storms in periods of comparative calm. From the death of Justinian to the sack of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204 there were certainly not more than five occasions, each lasting scarcely more than a year, when the government pursued a violent antisemitic policy.<sup>1</sup> In between these outbreaks of persecution, there is sometimes interesting evidence to show how quickly the communities would revive and how, at least in the greater cities, Jew and Christian would act side by side in the leadership of popular movements. Thus, shortly after the persecutions of the Emperor Heraclius in 632, Jews apparently played a prominent part at Constantinople in a riot against an imperial pretender,<sup>2</sup> while there are numerous indications of the active part played by the Jews in the factions of the hippodrome both at Constantinople and at Antioch,<sup>3</sup> organisations which most scholars now accept as having had primarily a political function.<sup>4</sup> It is against such a background that the probable situation of Byzantine Jewry at the end of the eleventh century ought to be considered.

<sup>1</sup> STARR, *op. cit.*, Introduction; A. ANDREADES, "The Jews in the Byzantine Empire," *Economic History* III (1934), pp. 1-23.

<sup>2</sup> Nicephorus, 'Ἱστορία σύντομος' ed. C. DE BOOR, *Nicephori Opuscula Historica*, Leipzig (1880), pp. 30-31; cf. STARR, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-5.

<sup>3</sup> SHARE, *op. cit.*, 106-108.

<sup>4</sup> The fullest monograph, though much has been written since, is still by G. MANOJLOVIC, "Le Peuple de Constantinople," *Byzantion* XI (1936), pp. 617-716.



Very little is known about the attitude of the Emperor Alexius (1081-1118) to his Jewish subjects. There are only five references to Jews in the *Alexiad*—the principal primary source for his reign. One is to biblical times, one is a vague comment on the presence of Jews in Jerusalem, three are to individuals of possibly Jewish origin.<sup>1</sup> Yet it is well known that Alexius was an ardent defender of Christian orthodoxy and of the theocratic element in a Byzantine Emperor's rule.<sup>2</sup> More heresies were denounced in his reign than in any other of comparable length.<sup>3</sup> He fought a relentless struggle against the two major dissident sects of his day, the Paulicians and the Bogomils, finally causing the leader of the latter to be burned alive—an extremely rare event in Eastern, as distinct from Western, ecclesiastical history.<sup>4</sup> He frowned upon the efflorescence of secular learning which had taken place during the previous forty years and transformed the newly re-opened University into a church school under the control of the patriarch. By his special instructions, a vast compendium of possible and impossible deviations from the true faith was assembled and published for the guidance of his subjects,<sup>5</sup> and he became known, at least to his contemporaries, as "the thirteenth apostle."<sup>6</sup> The omission of the Jewish community from his attentions, therefore, has to be remarked upon, and, although *argumenta a silentio* are notoriously dangerous, it is reasonable to draw the conclusion that, during the reign of Alexius, the Jews were passing through a period of comparative peace. It is possible, indeed, that he needed their commercial experience, though not, as a Western ruler might have done, their financial assistance, to help him in his enormous task of restoring the Empire after a protracted series of internal and external disasters.

In this context, the letter of Menahem becomes a valuable source. It pictures a number of communities living an unmolested life with freedom of movement for their members and freedom of communication not only with each other but with

<sup>1</sup> G. BUCKLER, *Anna Comnena*, Oxford (1929), p. 306, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. F. CHALANDON, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis I-er Comnène*, Paris (1900), pp. 310-

320.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the curious list in the "Synodikon for the first Sunday in Lent" *ibid.*, p. 311.

<sup>4</sup> For a description, cf. *Alexiad*, XV, 10.

<sup>5</sup> MIGNE, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. CXXX.

<sup>6</sup> *Alexiad*, XIV, 8.

communities beyond the imperial frontier—with the Khazars—now under the domination of Kievan Russia,<sup>1</sup> with France, and with Tripolis which, was, of course, under Muslim rule. There are a number of interesting indications of close contact with the Christian population. R. Ebyatar's letter reached a Christian who showed it to interested Jews, and, even allowing for exaggeration and inaccuracy, it seems that the excitement in Salonica was shared equally by Christian and Jew.<sup>2</sup> The strange reference to scourgings and confessions should also be noted. These were scarcely Jewish customs and their existence must imply some degree of Christian influence.<sup>3</sup>

Two reasons may be suggested for the circumstance that it was Salonica where the most noteworthy of the events described by Menahem occurred. First, it was perhaps there, more than anywhere else in the Empire, where a continuous tradition of miracles flourished, and miracles of a particular kind. For the past five centuries the people had firmly believed that the intervention of their patron saint, Demetrius, had saved their city on numerous occasions from the attack of barbarian hordes.<sup>4</sup> Previously these had been pagan Avars, Slavs and Bulgars but it is important to understand that, so far as the imperial population was concerned, the Crusaders were no better.<sup>5</sup> It is not unlikely, therefore, that, when news of the approach of multitudes from the West reached the city, the people once again looked for miraculous aid and that the excitement of the Jews communicated itself to them. Secondly, at Salonica, as distinct from Constantinople, the Jews did not live in a separate quarter of the city but mingled freely with the other communities,<sup>6</sup> so much so that the archbishop Eustathius, writing rather later than our period, complains to the patriarch of the freedom which has for long been granted to the Jews.<sup>7</sup> Salonica was, moreover, a great commercial centre with an old established port capable of

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<sup>1</sup> The independant kingdom of the Khazar Jews had certainly come to an end by 1016, cf. D. M. DUNLOP, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton (1954), pp. 251-252.

<sup>2</sup> Paragraphs V-VIII.

<sup>3</sup> Paragraph VIII.

<sup>4</sup> Accounts are to be found in MIGNE, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. CXXXVI; cf. J. PARGOIRE, *L'Eglise byzantine*, Paris (1923), p. 141.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above all the comments in the *Alexiad*, X, 5-7.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. O. TAFRALI, *Topographie de Thessalonique*, Paris (1913), pp. 37-40, p. 145.

<sup>7</sup> *Epistola XXXII* (MIGNE, *Patrologia Graeca* CXXXVI, col. 1299).

handling three hundred vessels simultaneously.<sup>1</sup> It stood at the junction of the Via Egnatia, the main road from Constantinople to Durazzo, the port for Italy, and of the road from Constantinople to Bgrade by which goods travelled between places as far apart as Alexandria and Novgorod.<sup>2</sup> This trade had attracted a large mixed population, where the Jews were only one of a number of racial and religious minorities, and where official dislike was, on the whole, more strongly directed against the Armenians and the followers of the Latin rite. In fact, special regulations dating from this period or slightly later, some applicable to the Empire as a whole and some to Salonica in particular, are known to exist in favour of the Jews.<sup>3</sup> It was there, then, that the rumours about the Crusade produced a wave of excitement which equally affected both Jew and Christian, and it was this circumstance which must have caused Alexius, with his apparent lack of special hostility towards the Jews, to order the local authorities to deal tactfully with the situation. It is true that no edict of this kind is, in fact, extant, but it is inconceivable that the governor and the archbishop would have dared to act without one and to have disorganised without permission, even for a short time, the local silk industry.

The events described by Menahem, however, are not only evidence of the close relations which existed, particularly in Salonica, between Jew and Christian. They also illustrate that these relations were not very solidly founded and that, despite its great difference from life in the West, the life of a Jew in the Eastern Empire could not escape the fundamental dangers which threatened the Jew everywhere in Christian society. It is in this light that the apparent contradictions between the assertion that "the Christians . . . gave the clearest version of the miracles which took place in Saloniki"<sup>4</sup> and the fear that "it become known to the Gentiles and they kill us"<sup>5</sup> be regarded. The Christian attitude, whether official or unofficial, could change overnight, particularly during periods of religious excitement, and however favourable conditions appeared to be, the Jew could

<sup>1</sup> TAFRALI, *op. cit.*, 16-20.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 20-21.

<sup>3</sup> MIKLOSICH & MULLER, *Acta et diplomata graeca*, Vienna (1860), I., p. 175; ZACHARIAE VON LINGENTHAL, *Jus Graeco-Romanum*, Leipzig (1856-1884), II, p. 112, III, p. 504.

<sup>4</sup> Paragraph V.

<sup>5</sup> Paragraph VII.

not hope to feel entirely secure.<sup>1</sup> A hint of such a change is implied in the strange plea addressed to the Salonica community by the governor and the archbishop, who could scarcely have been interested in a Jewish Messiah.<sup>2</sup> Their exhortation to the Jews to sell their property and depart may, indeed, have been prompted by the knowledge that the temper of the people was about to change and by the desire to prevent a massacre. It is far more likely, however, that here too they were following instructions from a higher authority without which they could scarcely have suggested the exodus of large numbers of workers from the silk industry. Alexius may well have felt that, after a certain point, the religious turmoil had lasted long enough and that those chiefly concerned in it, could, with advantage, be removed. The scarcity of information about Byzantine Jewry in general and the eleventh century in particular, makes it impossible to conjecture what the final effect of all these extraordinary events was on the community in Salonica, but it is not likely to have been good . . . Sixty years or so later, Benjamin of Tudela speaks of it as oppressed, and it certainly seems to enter on a period of decline.<sup>3</sup>

The letter of Menahem thus reveals a glimpse of an interesting episode in the life of an important community. It is only a glimpse, and the inferences from it can be no more than tentative. Nevertheless, with all the difficulties it raises, it remains a valuable piece of source material in the history of Byzantine Jews.

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<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, it is very unlikely that news of the fate of their brethren in Germany at the hands of the Crusaders would have yet reached Salonica; cf. MANN, *Ha-Tequfah*, XXIII, p. 259.

<sup>2</sup> Paragraph VII.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. I. S. EMMANUEL, *Histoire des Israelites de Salonique*, Thonon (1936), I, pp. 33-34.



# Notes on the New Documents from the Fourth Cave of Qumran

## תלה חי The Term

IN the recently published fragment of a commentary on the Book of Nahum,<sup>1</sup> which had achieved unusual fame long before its actual appearance in print, it is said of the "Lion of Wrath" that "he hangs men up alive" (יתלה אנשים חיים). About this phrase, which has given rise to a great deal of speculation, Dr. S. Zeitlin has the following to say:<sup>2</sup>

"There is a sentence which reads, אשר יתלה אנשים חיים 'He will hang men up alive.' This is an odd expression, indeed, 'to hang men up alive.' As far as I know this expression is not to be found in the early Hebrew literature; however, in a minor midrash, it is related in the story of Judith that the king who made war against Jerusalem ordered that one of his generals should be hanged alive חי ולתלותו. It seems the expression was coined in the Middle Ages"

As a matter of fact, the expression does occur in the early Hebrew literature, in Siphre on Deut, 21, 22:<sup>3</sup>

ותלית אותו . . . יכול יהו תולים אותו חי כדרך שהמלכות  
עושה תלמוד לומר והומת ותלית אותו על עץ.

*And thou shalt hang him . . . One might think they shall hang him up alive as the [Roman] government does, therefore Scripture says: And he be put to death, and [then] thou shalt hang him on a tree.*

In view of this passage there is no ground for Prof. H. H. Rowley's doubts as to whether "our text referred to crucifixion at all." He discussed at some length the meaning of the verb תלה and its equivalents in Greek and Syriac.<sup>4</sup> However, we have to bear in mind that our text uses the expression חי תלה and not

<sup>1</sup> See J. M. ALLEGRO, *Further Light on the History of the Qumran Sect* in *The Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1956, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. JQR, 1956, 33f.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. L. FINKELSTEIN, p. 245.

<sup>4</sup> See his recent article *4QpNahum and the Teacher of Righteousness* in *JBL*, 1956, pp. 190f.

merely תלה. If the latter term does not necessarily<sup>1</sup> mean "crucify," חי תלה certainly does.<sup>2</sup>

*The Title "Great Ones"*

Commenting on Nah. 2, 13 the sectarian expositor says:<sup>3</sup> כפיר החרון אשר יכה בנרוליו ואנשי עצתו בנרוליו. The word בנרוליו should be rendered: "with his Great Ones." The term נרולים is here a title for certain dignitaries or leaders. It occurs frequently in this meaning in the talmudic-midrashic literature,<sup>4</sup> thus, e.g., in Siphre on Deut. 11, 22:<sup>5</sup> שמא תאמר ישנן בני הזקנים ישנן בני הנרולים ישנן בני הנביאים. In our document the title is juxtaposed to "the men of his counsel." It is noteworthy that in Gen. R. XLI, 1<sup>6</sup> it is applied to three wealthy and influential Jews in Jerusalem between 60-70 C.E., who elsewhere<sup>7</sup> are referred to as *Bouleutes*.

*The Qumran Exposition of Gen. 49, 10.*

In the September issue of the *Journal of Biblical Literature* J. M. Allegro published a number of new texts bearing upon Messianism. The first document to which he has given the provisional title "4Q Patriarchal Blessings" reads as follows:<sup>8</sup>

לוא יסור שליט משבטי יהודה בהיות לישראל ממשל  
לוא יכלת יושב בוא לדויד כי המחקק היא ברית המלכות  
אלפי ישראל המה הרגלים עד בוא משיח הצדק צמח  
דויד כי לו ולזרעו נתנה ברית מלכות עד דורות עולם...

<sup>1</sup> It may be noted that Hebrew liturgical poets use the expressions נתלה and חלי with reference to Jesus, cf. *שירי ישיע*, ed. M. ZULAY, Jerusalem, 1938, p. 382 and ZUNZ, *Die Synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters* (2nd ed. 1920), p. 466. The work *Toldoth Yeshu* is also known under the name מעשה חזי.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also the Aramaic fragment of *Toldoth Yeshu* in GINZBERG's *Genizah Studies I*, p. 333: וצלבו יתיה כר חי.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 90.

<sup>4</sup> See A. BUECHLER, *The Political and Social Leaders of the Jewish Community in Sepphoris in the Second and Third Centuries*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. M. FRIEDMANN, p. 84b. Cf. also Jonah 3, 7.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. THEODOR-ALBECK, p. 398.

<sup>7</sup> Eccl. R. vii, 11.

<sup>8</sup> Pp. 174-5.

<sup>9</sup> To the word משבט ALLEGRO remarks: "In MT clearly = 'Scepter,' but parallelism of אלשי ישראל in 1, 3, implies the rendering above." There is no difference between MT and our document; the latter, too, understood ששב as "sceptre" which is therefore rendered: שליט. The words יהודה יהודה have nothing to do with the term ששב in the verse, but are a paraphrase of מיהודה (= יהודה), just as Onqelos and the Targ. of Jon. paraphrased it: מדבית יהודה.

The above interpretation is of special significance in view of the fact that Gen. 49, 10 figured prominently in the Judeo-Christian controversy. As is well known, it has been regarded as "proof-text" for the advent of the Messiah and the supersession of Judaism by the "New Israel." The argument, which is repeatedly harped upon by the Church Fathers<sup>1</sup> since Justin Martyr, ran thus: In this passage Jacob predicted that the sceptre will not depart from Judah until the advent of the Messiah. The fact that the sceptre had indeed departed from the Jews is proof that the Messiah had come and succeeded the old kingdom of Judah. In repudiating this argument, our Rabbis<sup>2</sup> insisted that, even after the destruction of the Temple, rulership had not departed from Judah, but was continued in the power vested in the Exilarch in Babylonia and the patriarchal house of Hillel in Palestine, both of whom were of Davidic descent.<sup>3</sup>

The Qumran expositor has his own views as to the implication of the verse. It is contained in his observation: **בהיות לישראל ממשל**, "when Israel will have dominion." Accordingly, the verse does not imply a continued rulership of Judah till the coming of the Messiah, but only the hegemony of the tribe of Judah—through the house of David—over all other tribes: whenever Israel will have dominion, when it will be governed by a sovereign, independent king, he will be from Judah. "The sceptre will not depart from the tribe of Judah" into the hands of another tribe, but it may well depart altogether.

The author of our document appears to have taken pains to bring home this point in yet another way, viz., by the addition of the word **בוא** [=בו], referring to Israel, in the sentence: **בהיות לישראל ממשל לא יכרת יושב בוא לדוד**. The word, which is patently superfluous,<sup>4</sup> can only have been intended to underline the above implication of the verse.

Again, the same idea is reflected in his interpretation of the clause: **ומחקה מבין רגליו**. The author has explicitly disclosed the exegetical basis of his comment by saying: "the tribes of Israel are the feet." Allegro referred to LXX and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the extracts from their writings collected by ADOLF POZNANKI, *Schiloh, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Messiaslehre*, Leipzig, 1904, pp. 48-98.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sanh. 5a and parallels.

<sup>3</sup> The rabbis interpreted **שנש** not as "sceptre," an emblem of kingship, but as "rod" and saw in it an emblem of judicial power.

<sup>4</sup> Unless we read: **יושב כסא**, cf. I Kings 8, 25; Jer. 33, 17.

Onqelos. However, these are two totally different interpretations. LXX and Onqelos took רגלים as denoting "seed," "descendants," while our document takes it as a metaphor for "subjects,"<sup>1</sup> i.e. the tribes of Israel who are the king's subjects. Consequently, the clause means: Judah's ruler's staff will not depart from the tribes of Israel; the leadership of the nation will rest with Judah.

It is clear that this interpretation of the verse eliminates the very basis of the patristic "testimony." The question now arises: Was the interpretation *intended* to counter this "testimony"? If so, this would yield an important conclusion as to the date of our document. Since the messianic "proof" from Gen. 49, 10 is not earlier than Justin Martyr, it would follow that our document dated from a time posterior to him.

### *The Meaning of the Word שילה*

In sharp contrast to the obscurity enveloping the textual interpretations of the Habakkuk commentary, those in our document are outstandingly transparent: all key-words in the sentence under consideration are clearly explained:

שבט=שליט  
מיהודה=משבט יהודה  
מחקק=ברית מלכות  
רגליו=אלפי ישראל

However, no word in the whole Book of Genesis has been more discussed than the word שילה. What is our expositor's view on it? It seems certain that his explanation is embedded in the following sentence **כי לו ולזרעו נתנה ברית מלכות עמו עד דורות עולם**. The decisive words are: **לו נתנה מלכות**. Thus, our expositor follows Onqelos, Fragmentary Targum and others in interpreting the words: **עד כי יבא שילה** to mean: "Till he comes to whom it [the kingdom] belongs" (דרלילה היא מלכותא).

<sup>1</sup> This interpretation of the phrase **כי יבא רגליו** seems to have no parallel, as far as I know, in the wide range of expositions given to this over-laboured verse. On the other hand, the view of our document that the verse refers only to the pre-eminence of Judah over all other tribes is also shared by Nahmanides *ad loc.*: ... אין ענינו שלא יסור לשלום ... אבל ענינו שלא יסור שבט מיהודה אל אחד מאחד כי מלכות ישראל המיושל עליהם ממנו יהיה ולא ימשול אחד מאחד עליה



*The Messianic Testimonia and the Rebuilding of Jericho*

Document IV, 4Q Testimonia,<sup>1</sup> contains a collection of pentateuchal texts comprising Deut. 18, 18-19 (prefaced by Deut. 5, 25-26), Num. 24, 15-17 and Deut. 33, 8-11. This collection has been known for some time and characterized as messianic *testimonia*. The publication of the entire document brought a surprise: in addition to the texts mentioned it includes a final section which is of an entirely different character. It is neither a biblical text, nor has it any obvious bearing on messianism, but deals with the rebuilding of Jericho by Hi'el as reported in I Kings 16, 34. We are informed that the passage derived from an unknown apocryphal work, fragments of which have been discovered in the fourth cave of Qumran (4Q Psalms of Joshua).

The connection of this passage with the preceding three *testimonia* is obscure and even enigmatic; "it seems," as the editor rightly observed, "to be decidedly out of place." On account of this difficulty he felt constrained to modify the view that the texts were intended as messianic testimonies.

However, the rabbinic *aggadah* may help us to solve the riddle and discover the relationship between the first three testimonies and the final section.

The rabbis regarded the story of Hi'el, whose sons died as a punishment for rebuilding Jericho, in fulfilment of Joshua's prediction, as bearing testimony to the truth of the biblical prophecies and as guarantee of their ultimate fulfilment. This they expressed in the form of a controversy between 'Ahab on one side, and Hi'el and the prophet Elijah, on the other. 'Ahab is represented as denying that there was any connection between the rebuilding of Jericho and the death of Hi'el's sons, arguing thus:<sup>2</sup> "Was not Moses greater than Joshua, and did he not say that God would let no rain descend upon the earth, if Israel worshipped idols? There is not an idol known to which I did not pay homage, yet we enjoy the greatest prosperity. *Dost thou believe if the words of Moses remain unfulfilled, the words of Joshua will come true?*"

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 182-86.

<sup>2</sup> See Jer. Sanh. X, 28b; אמרין ליה? משה או יהושע? אמר להון אחאב וכי מי גדול ממי, משה או יהושע? אמרין ליה? אמר להון בתורחיו של משה כתוב השמרו לכם פן יסתה לבכם... ולא יהיה ממר ולא הינחתו ע"י בעולם שלא עבדתו אותה וכל שכן ונחמין דאיה בעימא אחין בדר, מילי דמשה לא קמן ומילי דיהושע מק'.

Cf. further Bab. Sanh. 113a and Targum Jer., ed LAGARDE, pp. XXI-XXII.

Hi'el, on the other hand, acknowledged that the words of Joshua have indeed come true, and saw in this a vindication of prophecy, voicing his belief in the following benediction: "*Blessed be the God of the righteous who grants fulfilment to the words of the righteous.*"<sup>1</sup> Even more significant is the version of the benediction as preserved in another source, according to which Elijah and the Elders, who visited Hi'el, exclaimed:<sup>2</sup> "*Blessed be the Lord, the God of Israel, for there has not failed one word of all his good promises which He promised by the hand of His servants, the prophets.*"

In the light of the preceding, the relevance of the Hi'el story to the prophecies cited in our document becomes discernible at once. These prophecies would be futile and of no consequence if their eventual realization were in doubt. The fulfilment of Joshua's prediction is adduced with a view to silencing such doubts and as an assurance that if the words of Moses' servant have come true, those of the master will certainly not remain unfulfilled.

This procedure is by no means unique; it has its parallel, albeit in a different form, in the synagogue custom of concluding the reading from the Prophets with a benediction affirming the belief in the eventual fulfilment of the prophetic utterances.

London.

N. WIEDER.

<sup>1</sup> Jer. *ibid.*: בריך הוא אלודון דצדיקיא דמקים מילי דצדיקא .

<sup>2</sup> See אלפא ביהא דבן סירא ed. M. STEINSCHNEIDER, Berlin, 1858, pp. 36a:

. בריך י"י אלהי ישראל שלא נפל אחד מכל דברו הטוב אשר דבר ביד עבדיו הנביאים .

*Nicanor and his Gate*

TAIT'S Oxford Ostraca published in 1930 contain at the end sections of Flinders Petrie's material, which forms part of an archive from Coptos which belonged to Nicanor, son of Panes, a merchant of no mean standing.<sup>1</sup> One of his chief correspondents was Marcus Julius Alexander. The latter was with all probability the son of the alabarch Tiberius Julius Alexander and brother of the procurator and soldier who bore the same name.<sup>2</sup> But perhaps the former too is known to us.

One recalls the records about the offerings for the gates of Jerusalem. E. Stauffer has recently analyzed and separately interpreted these, and so confirmed their historical value.<sup>3</sup> Tib. Julius Alexander is mentioned as a donor who paid for the gilding and silvering of the temple-gates with the exception of one which bore the name of Nicanor, the giver of a pair of iron doors. Can he be identified with the above mentioned Egyptian business man?

According to the business documents he was the head of a firm until 50 A.D.<sup>4</sup> The Jerusalem ossuary of the donor of the doors might have been made between the years 1 and 66. The donation itself would have taken place between the years 10 and 48 (66).<sup>5</sup> The gate was of exceptional value;<sup>6</sup> hence, the donor must have been a man of considerable means. Where the merchant lived is not quite certain. It is possible that he had an agent who directed his affairs in Coptos. The friend of the temple is described as Alexandreus,<sup>7</sup> whereby his polyteuma may be described with-

<sup>1</sup> J. G. TAIT, *Greek Ostraca* . . . I (1930) p. 110ff.; of four Coptic ostraca published in the 2nd volume (1955) three refer to the firm of Nicanor. The material is also studied by MICH. ROSTOVITZ in *Gnomon*, 1931, p. 23ff. and AL. FUKS in *Journal of Juristic Papyrology*, 1951, p. 207ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Zeitschr f.d. neutest. Wissensch.*, 1952, p. 44ff. (The MS was completed on 12.1.51); cf. also L. VINCENT, *Rev. Bibl.*, 1954, p. 412ff.

<sup>3</sup> See also FUKS, *loc. cit.*, p. 314.—According to M. POHLENZ, *Nchr. Göttinger Gel. Ges.*, 1942, p. 413, "Lysimachos" is an ancient Greek interpolation.

<sup>4</sup> FUKS, *loc. cit.*, p. 209.

<sup>5</sup> STAUFFER, p. 58-65.—GRAETZ's thesis that the donation took place in 20 B.C. and was made by an otherwise unknown alabarch, whom GRAETZ calls Nicanor, has been queried already by the editor of the 5th edition of his *Jüdische Geschichte* (III, 649).

<sup>6</sup> *M. Midloth*, 2, 3; *Tos. Yoma* 2, 4.

<sup>7</sup> For the inscription on the ossuary cf. S. KLEIN in *Jüd.-Pal. Corpus Inscriptionum* (1920), p. 19f. For the rabbinic discussion cf. STAUFFER, p. 50f.—The possibility that "Alexandria" is said but "Egypt" meant, as frequently happens in Jewish sources, is not very likely here.

out at the same time implying his permanent residence. These various pieces of evidence coincide in a peculiar way.

Al. Fuks has assumed that Nicanor came from a family which "might have been either Egyptian but hellenized to a degree, or of Greek origin, and have undergone some assimilation to the Egyptian population of Coptos."<sup>1</sup> Apparently he must have been a proselyte, and possibly he may have been converted himself. It is in keeping with the mentality of a proselyte that his piety, ignoring Leontopolis, longed for the more magnificent sanctuary in Jerusalem and that it had the desire to express itself by a special deed.<sup>2</sup> Also the Hellenists in *Acts* 6 are not liberal-minded emancipated Jews but particularly rigorous and aggressive representatives of the Mosaic faith.<sup>3</sup> As a man of this type, Nicanor had his bones brought to Jerusalem or—more probably—having spent the major part of his fortune on his donation,<sup>4</sup> he moved himself in his old age to the Holy City.<sup>5</sup> For this period we know of the re-migration of several Jewish-Egyptian families.

The fame and gratitude which Nicanor received for his donation may have disconcerted Tib. Julius Alexander and may have caused him to make a similar donation<sup>6</sup> with which the expense of his decoration of the remaining temple-gates was covered. Might this have been during the time of his son's procuratorship? One wonders whether these circumstances caused the officials of the Jewish society to pass his gift by silently.<sup>7</sup>

It is a rare occurrence that the evidence fits so smoothly into the picture which E. Stauffer has gained by using quite different sources.

Oxford.

E. BAMMEL.

<sup>1</sup> p. 207f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the gifts of Queen Helena.

<sup>3</sup> Similarly, Helena tended towards the strictly orthodox party; cf. J. DERENBOURG, *Essai*, p. 224.

<sup>4</sup> If the rabbinic reports about Nicanor's behaviour in the storm have any value as a source, then they show a man who is unable to replace the gift he is about to lose.

<sup>5</sup> From 34 A.D. relatives of Nicanor were partners in his firm; see FUKS *loc. cit.*, p. 209.

<sup>6</sup> There is no need for assuming repeated donations as V. BURR, *Tib. Julius Alexander*, 1955, p. 13, supposes.

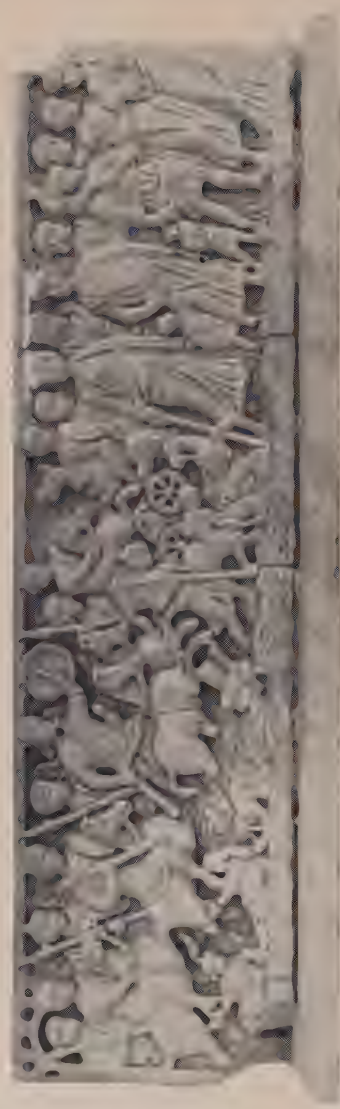
<sup>7</sup> See further STAUFFER, p. 65f.







*Fig. 4. THE JONAH SARCOPHAGUS, LATRAN MUSEUM, ROME.*



*Fig. 5. THE CROSSING OF THE RED SEA SARCOPHAGUS, MUSEUM OF ARLES.*

## A Note on Judaeo-Christian Iconography<sup>1</sup>

IN 1887 David Kaufmann published an outstanding article in the *Revue des Etudes Juives*, in which he pointed out the relationship between the decoration of the Roman catacombs and the *selihah* prayer, which includes the refrain: He shall answer us. In spite of the traditional iconoclastic attitude of Jewry, this great scholar realised that there was nothing inherently impossible in a Jewish influence on Early Christian art. In his own words: "savoir, qu'il existait déjà dans le judaïsme même . . . un choix d'images de l'Ancien Testament, un cycle fermé de types."<sup>2</sup>

In the present period, when our knowledge in these matters is increased by new excavations and assessments, David Kaufmann's theory is revealed in its true importance and has a prophetic ring. Thus it is well known that the "ordo commendationis animae" is based on the prayer of which the oldest version is found in *Ta'anith II*, 1-10. This includes seven invocations, mentioning a.o. the Sacrifice of Isaac, the Israelites Crossing the Red Sea, and other scenes which are found in Dura-Europos, in Roman catacombs and on Early-Christian sarcophagi. The praise of famous men in *Ecclesiasticus* (XLIV-L) gives a similar litany. But perhaps most important of all, the liturgy for the great Jewish festivals includes the narration of Biblical texts, such as the story of the Sacrifice of Isaac for the New Year and that of Jonah for the Day of Atonement. The Seder ritual of Passover interprets the story of the Exodus. This reinforces the Jewish background of the Old Testament scenes mentioned above. Another instance vouching for the popularity of the Old Testament scenes in early Christianity is the comparison in *Met. XII. 40* of Jonah, who was for three days and three nights in the belly of the Whale, with the descent of Christ into Hell. The scene is represented e.g. in the mosaic of the Early-Christian

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<sup>1</sup> I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. S. STEIN for his interest in this study, his appreciation of the problems involved, and many interesting suggestions; Professor J. M. C. TOYNBEE for archaeological advice; the History of Art Department of the University of Manchester for assistance in acquiring photographs, and the Jewish Claims Conference for a Research Grant in 1955-56.

<sup>2</sup> *Revue des Etudes Juives*, XIV, 1887, p. 33ff and 217ff, especially p. 35. Cf. also J. LEVEEN, *The Hebrew Bible in Art*, Oxford University Press 1944, with full and useful bibliography.

Cathedral of Aquileia. Many other examples of this kind could be mentioned.

From the archaeological point of view Marion Lawrence, Gerke and Bovini have made important contributions to the study of sarcophagi, without, however, considering the possibility of a Jewish origin for the Christian cycles. Rachel Wischnitzer-Bernstein has studied the Dura Europos wall paintings in isolation, emphasizing their Messianic content, whilst Goodenough has dealt with purely Jewish symbols without however explicitly studying their impact on Christianity.<sup>1</sup> This is the stage which, at the present time, the problem of Judaeo-Christian relations with regard to sarcophagi has reached, and it is from this point that the following study is developed.

When considering Early-Christian sarcophagi with an open mind, it becomes clearly apparent that a number of them show the figures of Jesus or the Good Shepherd as subordinate to the compositions, or placed at their extreme edges. These figures appear as interpolations rather than the main theme, whilst the Old Testament scenes predominate. This surely implies the taking over of an older, rather than the *ad hoc* production of a novel Christian iconography.

On the Jonah sarcophagus in the Ny-Carlsberg-Glyptothek, for example, that story is fully developed in the original form of one panel, whilst the flanking Good Shepherd figures act as a frame. In the Lateran sarcophagus of the same type the division is in two tiers, the lower containing the Jonah story proper, to which diminutive scenes are added: The Raising of Lazarus, Moses in Horeb, a scene of apprehension difficult to interpret exactly, Noah and the Ark, as well as bucolic scenes and an angler.<sup>2</sup> The figure of the whale itself is duplicated. It is decorative and realistic, reminiscent, to quote only one example, of the monsters in the Gigantomachia sarcophagus in the Galleria delle Statue of the Vatican, which according to Professor Toynbee

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<sup>1</sup> *Art Bulletin*, X, 1927, p. 1ff, XIV, 1932, p. 103ff. F. GERKE, *Die Christlichen Sarkophage der Vorkonstantinischen Zeit*, Berlin, 1940, passim. Cf. also G. BOVINI, *I sarcofagi paleocristiani*, Città di Vaticano, 1949; R. WISCHNITZER-BERNSTEIN, *The Messianic Theme in the Synagogue of Dura-Europos*, Chicago, 1948; E. R. GOODENOUGH, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman period*, New York, 1953. The basic study by M. ROSTOV-TZEFF, *Dura-Europos and its Art*, Oxford, 1938 has not as yet been superseded. All the works quoted include extensive bibliographies.

<sup>2</sup> GERKE, *op. cit.* passim. and p. 38ff.



belongs to the Hadrianic period.<sup>1</sup> The Jonah sarcophagi are later in style, but retain enough of the classical tradition to be placed in the beginning of the 3rd century.

The more abstract sarcophagi of the Exodus, showing the Israelites, led by Moses, crossing the Red Sea, appear to belong to a later date, probably the 4th century. The best examples of this type are found, or belonged to, Arles. There is no obvious reason why this scene, which plays such an important part in the decoration of the Dura Europos Synagogue in 244, but is of no specific Christian interest unless re-interpreted in an allegorical manner, should have become one of the main elements in early Christian cycles; on the other hand, it is of paramount importance for the Jewish liturgy and has found its pictorial reflexion in the illuminated Passover Haggadoth during the Middle Ages.<sup>2</sup>

The best known sarcophagus with the Crossing of the Red Sea on the main panel is in the Museum of Arles. A similar one, now in Aix en Provence, but also previously in Arles, still possesses its four panels. The back is ornamental, but the sides show Moses before Pharaoh, the receipt of the Law, as well as the feeding with quails and water drawn from the rock by Moses. Accompanying Israelites are seen in both cases. No references to Christ or Christianity are found, and it is therefore most likely that this sarcophagus was destined for an adherent of Judaism, and has hitherto been falsely interpreted as connected with Christianity. This hypothesis may also apply to the other sarcophagi of the same subject, which were of Italian provenance, since they are executed in marble of Carrara.<sup>3</sup>

That specific books of the Bible were figuratively decorated for use in the Jewish home is suggested by Morey<sup>4</sup>, and such illuminations must have influenced the Dura wall-paintings. The pictorial cycles were presumably kept separate from the text, as is still found in medieval Spanish Haggadoth. On the other hand, the Scrolls for synagogue use remained traditionally plain.

<sup>1</sup> J. M. C. TOYNBEE, *The Hadrianic School*, Cambridge, 1934, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the present writer in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XXXVI, 1954, p. 468ff. and XXXVIII, 1956 p. 466ff.; also C. ROTH in *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, XVI, 1953, p. 24ff.

<sup>3</sup> E. LE BLANT, *Etude sur les sarcophages chrétiens antiques de la ville d'Arles*, Paris, 1878, p. 50f. and pl. XXXI and XXXII (not XXXII and XXXIII). F. BENOIT, Paris 1954, *Sarcophages paléochrétiens d'Arles et de Marseilles*, *passim*. and p. 55 f.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. C. MOREY, *Early Christian Art*, Princeton University Press, 1942.

Biblical codices, if decorated at all, seem to have included only abstract or architectural ornament up to the 13th century. It is from the latter source that the representation of the Temple structure and its vessels may have been derived, the prototype being Palestinian.

The cycles here discussed may serve to shed some light on the problem of Messianism in Jewish iconography. There can be no doubt that in a period of national affliction the Messianic hope was strengthened, and certain popular elements like the "restored Temple" have certainly to be interpreted in this manner. But the Sacrifice of Isaac, the Deliverance from Egypt or the story of Jonah possess no obvious Messianic implications; they rather stand for Redemption and Salvation in a general sense.<sup>1</sup> It is this significance which expressed the non-historical and in this sense timeless religious tendency of Judaism and facilitated a Christian reinterpretation.

The richness of the cycles here discussed stands in a marked contrast to the coins found in Palestine and the results yielded by excavations there. The decorations of Beth Alpha, Beth She'arim and similar sites are provincial and much later in date; they are much simpler than the Dura examples and their iconographic prototypes.<sup>2</sup>

A contribution of Palestine, which has left its mark on local coins, Roman gold glasses, in Dura and later illuminated manuscripts, is the façade of the second Temple, with its two pairs of classical pillars, a representation which may well portray the rebuilding by Herod although it could also be interpreted in a Messianic spirit. That no description of this structure has come down to us does not invalidate this suggestion, since only outstanding and controversial features were recorded, and there was nothing to shock in a classical façade.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It will be seen from the above discussion that the writer is unable to accept the Messianic interpretation of the Dura synagogue by Mrs. WISCHNITZER. Cf. also C. ROTH in *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 1954, LXXXVII, p. 151ff. Some of Dr. ROTH's conclusions will command assent, others, especially his analysis of the "carucca," appear forced. But in any case, it is hazardous to affix a particular meaning to symbols, which by their very nature are ambivalent.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the survey in A. REIFENBERG, *Ancient Hebrew Arts*, New York, 1950. Also P. ROMANOFF, *Jewish Symbols on Ancient Jewish Coins*, Philadelphia 1944.

<sup>3</sup> On the literary tradition with regard to this building cf. especially F. J. HOLLIS, *The Archaeology of Herod's Temple*, London 1934, who discusses the tractate *Middoth* extensively. Cf. also on the "Alexandrian" doors of the Nicanor Gate E. WIESENBERG in

There seems to be no doubt that symbolism was emphasised in Palestine. On the other hand it was the non-Hellenic, Eastern influence apparent in Dura and also found in Rome and Arles, which was responsible for the rich cyclic iconography discussed above.<sup>1</sup> If this is true, then the Jewish artist and patrons of the Diaspora, rather than of Palestine, were responsible for the cycles of Jewish pictorial art.<sup>2</sup>

Manchester.

HELEN ROSENAU

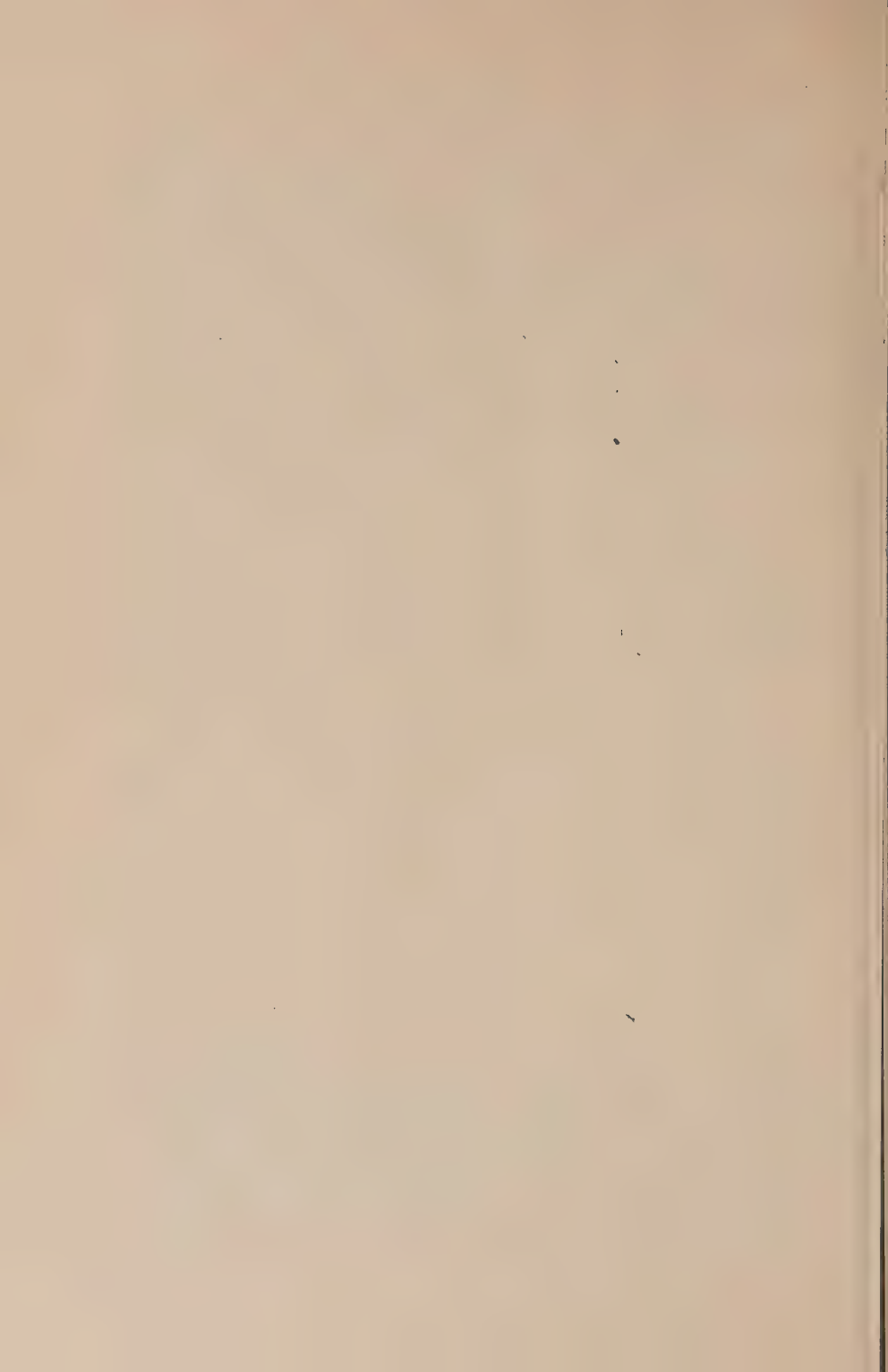
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*Journal of Jewish Studies*, III, 1952, p. 14ff. and *Revue Biblique*, 1954 p. 5ff., and 398ff. In contrast to the traditional flat roof, a Roman representation of the Temple gives an angular one on a well-known gilt glass.

<sup>1</sup> J. LASSUS in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'art*, XLVI, 1929, p. 159ff. on the one hypothetical prototype of the Crossing of the Red Sea, which may well have been "Asiatic" in MOREY's sense.

<sup>2</sup> ROSTOVITZ, *loc. cit.*, p. 114ff.

This author draws attention to the contribution of Jewish artists, a fact also stressed by LEVEEN, *loc. cit.* and the present writer in the articles cited above, where fuller references are given.





## The Anglo-Sephardic Pronunciation of Hebrew<sup>\*</sup>

THE pronunciation of Hebrew with which this article is concerned is that of the Sephardic Jews of England, and more especially of the Bevis Marks Synagogue in London which since 1701 has held religious services according to the Sephardic rite. Some consideration of this rite or *minhag* is here called for. It is a subdivision of the Sephardic rite which is found among the Jews who once had their home in Spain, and who are now settled for the most part in the Arab world and the Levant, although many of them have now found a home in Israel.

The particular variety of *minhag* found in England might be described as the "brief '*alenu minhag*,'" for one of its characteristics is that the '*alenu* prayer, universally recited by Jews at the end of every statutory service is in an abbreviated form, the second paragraph beginning '*al ken* being entirely omitted. The *minhag* is found in an almost identical form among the Sephardim of Amsterdam, from whom indeed the London Sephardim are sprung.

From Amsterdam and London the *minhag* with its traditional pronunciation and cantillation of Hebrew has spread. There are now three Synagogues of this type in London. Two others in that city, founded by recently immigrated Persian and Bokharan Jews maintain their individual variety of the Sephardic *minhag*. The Montefiore synagogue in Ramsgate, Kent follows the London *minhag*.

When Sephardic Jews from Greece and Turkey arrived in Manchester during the middle of the last century, the London community took them under its wing, and the London *minhag*, which according to the early statutes of the Manchester community was adopted, prevailed over the rite that the immigrants must have brought with them from the Mediterranean. Only one or two rather lonely melodies remain. A similar process took place with one of the three London Synagogues mentioned above, whose members are mostly Levantines. Two of the Manchester Sephardic Synagogues follow the London *minhag*, the third, of Oriental origin, preserves its own rite.

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<sup>\*</sup> This is a revised version of a paper read at the Seminar of the Semitics Department, Manchester University, November 24th, 1953. For many of the facts I am indebted to my teacher Rev. E. ABINUN of the London Sephardic Congregation; also to Dr. C. RABIN of Oxford for helpful suggestions.

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The "brief '*alenu minhag*'" has also been carried to several of the communities in the Americas (New York, Philadelphia, Montreal, Curaçao). Jamaica has a reformed variety of the rite, while in the Virgin Islands the prayers are read entirely in English. The community in the Barbados is extinct.

The *minhag* is embodied in the Prayer Books edited by the late learned Haham, Dr. Moses Gaster, and in the books published by the Dutch and American communities. The text used for reading the Law is that approved by the sixteenth century massoretic scholar Menahem de Lonsano, as set out in his work *Or Torah*.

Here follows an annotated description of the Anglo-Sephardic pronunciation of Hebrew. Comparisons are with received Southern English.

### THE CONSONANTS

א	no sound	ק	k
ב	b	ל	l
ג	g	מ	m
ד	d	נ	n
ה	h	ש	s
ו	v	ע	ng as in <i>king</i>
ז	z	פ	p
ח	ch as in <i>loch</i>	צ	f
ט	t	צ	ts
י	y	ר	r
		ש	sh

### THE VOWELS

א	a as heard in <i>up</i>
א	a or o according to position
א	o as heard in <i>dot</i>
א	e as heard in <i>bed</i>
א	i as heard in <i>seen</i>
א	o as heard in <i>dot</i> , some prefer the longer o of <i>law</i>
א	u as heard in <i>boot</i>
א	e or silent according to position.

### NOTES

1. The *begadkefat* letters. Only two of the letters which may take the *dagesh lene* are actually differentiated. The *dagesh lene* and *raphe* are diacritical points used by the Massoretes to indicate the different members of what modern phoneticians would call

a phoneme.<sup>1</sup> It is to be expected that when the vernacular of the person pronouncing Hebrew has different phonemes from those possessed by Hebrew, some shifts will occur. We may lay down two principles which affect the local pronunciation of Hebrew: (i) the speaker tends to eliminate any sound not found in his vernacular; (ii) the speaker tends to import the phonemes of his own vernacular into Hebrew, replacing those which Hebrew formerly possessed.<sup>2</sup> Speakers of Spanish tend to pronounce כ and ד as they would pronounce *b* and *d* in Spanish, i.e. [b] and [d] intervocalically and [β] and [ð] in most other positions. The range of the Hebrew and Spanish phonemes happens to correspond pretty closely in these sounds. When the substratum of Spanish is replaced by a substratum of Dutch or English the weak sound would tend to be eliminated, since [β] and [ð] are not parts of the [b] and [d] phonemes in these languages. The weak sounds of א and נ (probably originally a uvular trill and [t] respectively) would be eliminated by Judaeo-Spanish speakers since these sounds do not exist in this language.<sup>3</sup> [p] and [f] exist in Spanish, Dutch and English, and ס and פ continue to be distinguished in Sephardic Hebrew. The continued existence of the sound [ch] in Sephardic Hebrew for כ and ח although it does not exist in English or Judaeo-Spanish is interesting. This sound would probably disappear among all Anglo-Jews in

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<sup>1</sup> The phoneme is defined by F. S. WINGFIELD as "a group of speech sounds nearly enough alike to be treated as a unit for alphabetic purposes." See also DANIEL JONES, *The Phoneme*; LEONARD BLOOMFIELD, *Language*, chapter five. The dotted letters in Arabic are of course marked thus to distinguish letters which had become orthographically similar, and do not distinguish members of a phoneme. Cf. also the Syriac *daleth* which has one dot Arabic-style to distinguish it from *resh*, and may have another dot Hebrew style to distinguish the members of the phoneme. The different members of the "begadkefat" phonemes were presumably not distinct to the ear of the ancient Semite; it is a tribute to the keen observation of the Semitic grammarians that they noticed the difference. In fact, the diacritical points *dagesh lene* and *raphe* in Hebrew, and *qushaya* and *rukaka* in Syriac perhaps point to the Semitic grammarians as the first to distinguish the principle of the phoneme, although, like Pythagoras with his theorem, they did not realise its potentialities.

<sup>2</sup> As an illustration of (i) we may cite the Dutch Sephardic pronunciation of א [ch], since the sound [g] only occurs in Dutch as a weakened form of [k] and ג is normally pronounced [ch]. As an illustration of (ii) we may cite the Anglo-Sephardic pronunciation of נ which tends to be "light" or "dark" according to position as in English. It seems that these factors appear more and more with each successive generation speaking a particular vernacular. Thus it is interesting to compare the pronunciation of Hebrew by young Anglo-Jews with that of their fathers; there is evidence that the substratum of Yiddish is being replaced by English—note especially the diphthongal nature of the vowels of English Ashkenazic pronunciation.

<sup>3</sup> Modern Spanish *c* [t] is represented in Judaeo-Spanish by ס[s]

course of time if there were no outside influence to preserve it. I have on occasion heard the word חלה pronounced like the English word *collar*—which shows the trend. This sound seems to have a longer time-lag in its disappearance than the others.

2. There is a tendency to drop the letter ה, especially at the beginning of words; thus הסכמה [askama] (a congregational law), ה' מלך [ashem melech] (a liturgical reading). This is probably Spanish influence, since Spanish does not possess the aspirate.

3. The letter ו is pronounced [v] not [w], which was probably its original sound. [w] would be eliminated as it does not exist in Spanish; moreover ו was pressed into service in the Judaeo-Spanish script to represent the Spanish v, and this would doubtless in turn affect its pronunciation in Hebrew.

4. The pronunciation of ע is doubtless an attempt to approximate to the glottal pronunciation, as preserved in Arabic and found impossible of imitation by most Europeans. However, the nasal ע has an older pedigree than most imagine.<sup>1</sup>

5. צ and ט lost their "emphatic" pronunciation. Most Sephardim pronounce the צ [s]. The [ts] pronunciation may have been borrowed from the Ashkenazim.

6. The pronunciation of the vowel ק presents some difficulties. Historically it may be divided into three types: (i) a naturally long vowel of the *a* class, corresponding to the Arabic *fatha* with alif of prolongation, e.g. *ketāb*=Arab. *kitāb*. This is comparatively rare in Hebrew, since the Arabic vowel is usually represented in Hebrew by *ō*. (ii) a short *a* vowel, lengthened by its position in the word, e.g. *kātab*=Arab. *kataba*. (iii) a short *o* vowel permuted from an earlier *u*, e.g. *hoqkām* beside *huqqī*. The first two classes are generally identified as קמץ גדול *a*, and the third as קמץ קטן *o*. The Sephardic pronunciation does not entirely agree with this division. The following are examples of קמץ which the grammarians would regard as short *o*, but which are pronounced *a* by the Sephardim.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See C. RABIN, *Ancient West Arabian* p. 32 where it is pointed out that this nasal occurs in some Arabic dialects. Dr. RABIN also draws my attention to the Polish-Jewish [yaingkef] for יעקב. But see C. LEVIAS, *A Grammar of the Aramaic Idiom* p. 9. He points out that "post-vocalic y is pronounced as a vowel" (really a diphthong), and cites טעמו [taimo] מעריב [mairiv] and others. On this pattern יעקב would become [yakef]. The nasalization is, I suspect, a subsequent change, perhaps due to the Polish-Jewish "sing-song" intonation.

<sup>2</sup> See BEN HAYYIM, op. cit., p. 72-3, who points out that the oldest reference to this pronunciation is in Hayyuj's *Kitab at-tanqīl*, ed. NUTT, pp. xiv-xv.



צֹהֲרִים	(and other words of this type)	{ <i>tsahorayim</i> }
פָּעֹלֶה	(Hab. 3.2)	[ <i>pangolcha</i> ]
דָּלֵי	(Num. 24.7)	[ <i>daleyav</i> ]
שָׁמֶרָה	(Ps. 86.2)	[ <i>shamera</i> ]
שָׁמֶרֶנִּי	(Ps. 16.1)	[ <i>shamereni</i> ]
אָרָה	(Num. 22.6)	[ <i>ara</i> ]
קָבָה	(Num. 22.17)	[ <i>kaba</i> ]

The rule seems to be simply that when the short *o* vowel occurs in an open syllable (because of the presence of a guttural which does not take a silent *Shewa*, or because a silent *Shewa* has become movable in order to improve the rhythm) the sound is lengthened to *a*. The Sephardim are careful in their distinction of the two types of *Shewa* and it would be unwise to consider their pronunciation in these cases a "traditional error."

The Hebrew word for "all" requires special consideration. When written כָּל this is of course pronounced [*kol*], since in a phrase such as *Kol-hayyom* the *Kamats* is in a closed unaccented syllable. But in certain phrases the word is traditionally pronounced [*kal*].<sup>1</sup> In the liturgy for the Sabbath morning service Ps. 35.10 is quoted כָּל עֲצַמֹתַי and pronounced [*kal ngatsmotai*]. The custom of pronouncing it thus seems to be old, for the Masora to this verse has the note *kamats rahav* "broad qamets." Moreover the fact is also referred to in the medieval tractate *Diqduqe ha-Te'amim*.<sup>2</sup> It is also a Sephardic tradition to pronounce the word as [*kal*] invariably in Aramaic passages. So the solemn annulment of vows on the Eve of the Day of Atonement begins [*kal nidre*]. Similarly the Aramaic formula of invitation in the Haggada for Passover is read [*kal dichfin*]. The explanation may be as follows. We have already observed that the Arabic long *a* corresponds to the Hebrew long *o*. But in Aramaic the *a* is retained. Thus it was felt that Hebrew [*kol*] should correspond to Aramaic [*kal*] by an unjust analogy, and the form preserved in Ps. 35.10 must be explained as an Aramaism.

<sup>1</sup> The origin and justification of this reading is discussed by Z. BEN-HAYYIM, *Studies in the Traditions of the Hebrew Language*, 1954, p. 71-2.

<sup>2</sup> See C. D. GINSBURG, *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*, p. 998, § 38. Three such cases are quoted; Is. 40.12, Ps. 35.10, Pr. 19.7. The first case is of course correct, since the root of the word is כוּל to comprehend, measure, but what of the others? Possibly the pronunciation is based on a similar exegesis: Ps. 35—He measureth (=weighs up, considers) my bones (=myself), they (=I) shall say . . . Pr. 19—He weighs up the brethren of the poor who forsake him, yea also his friends who go far from him. . . . I do not imply that this is the real meaning of these passages, simply that they were perhaps understood thus.

The plural of the word *qōdāš* may be spelt קְדָשִׁים or קְדָשִׁים and these words are pronounced respectively [*kodashim*] and [*kadashim*]. A difference in meaning underlies this difference in pronunciation. קְדָשׁ קְדָשִׁים is used in a concrete sense, and means *holy place* or *holy things*. קְדָשׁ קְדָשִׁים is practically a superlative adjective meaning *very holy*. See, for example, the occurrences of this phrase in Num. 18.9-10. זה יהיה לך מִקְדָּשׁ הַקְּדָשִׁים מִן הָאֵשׁ כֹּל קִרְבָּנָם לְכָל מִנְחָתָם וְלִכְל אֲשָׁמָם אֲשֶׁר יֵשִׁיבוּ לִי קְדָשׁ קְדָשִׁים קִרְבָּנָם לְכָל מִנְחָתָם וְלִכְל אֲשָׁמָם אֲשֶׁר יֵשִׁיבוּ לִי קְדָשׁ קְדָשִׁים תֹּאכְלֶנָּה. The sound of the *kamats* is therefore artificially varied to indicate a different meaning: cf. the retention of the *kamats* in *šābū-ōt* weeks to distinguish it from *šēbū-ōt* oaths.

בָּתִּים is pronounced [*batim*] which most grammarians agree to be the correct pronunciation of this difficult and anomalous word.

8. The vowels *Segol* and *Tsere* are not distinguished in Anglo-Sephardic pronunciation. The general simplification of the pronunciation of the vowels is probably due to the influence of Spanish with its simple five-vowel system. The *Shewa* when sounded is enunciated very distinctly. *Shewa* is silent after ו and e.g. וּבְכֹל- [ubchol]. On the other hand it is sounded in הָלֵאנָי [haleadonai] (Deut. 32.6).

9. The rare vowel גַּיָּא (,) is pronounced [*a*]. The Dutch Sephardic editions of the Pentateuch often specially mark *Shewa Ga'ya* in the margin when it occurs, to draw the attention of the reader to it, and remind him not to pronounce it like an ordinary *Shewa*. Examples are:—

Ex. 25.33 מִשְׁקָדִים [*mashukadim*]

Lev. 11.26 לֶחֶל- [*lachol*]

Num. 5.22 בַּמַּעֲיֵךְ [*bamengayich*]

According to Gesenius (16g), *Shewa Ga'ya* stands chiefly in words whose principal tone is marked by a disjunctive accent, without a preceding conjunctive, but he offers no explanation for it. We may suggest that we have here a remainder of the period when *Shewa* had a more definite sound than now. The second example is closer to the old pronunciation \*[*la*], preserved in a pretonically lengthened form such as *lānæṣah*.

It is to be hoped that these notes will serve the purpose of recording a significant local mode of pronouncing Hebrew, and shed some light on the effect of vernacular on such pronunciation.

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## *The Septuagint's Καππαδοκία for Caphtor*

UNTIL recently there has been no definite information as to where Caphtor lay, and many suggestions have been made. The most favoured one has been to locate it in Crete, based ultimately on the translation of 'i, which is applied to Caphtor, as "island."

The Septuagint, however, translates Caphtor and Caphtorim by Καππαδοκία and Καππαδοκες in Deut. ii. 23, and Caphtor by Καππαδοκία in Amos ix, 7. But this has been ignored as it has seemed so unreasonable, Cappadocia being essentially an inland country in the heart of Asia Minor.

But in the last centuries B.C.E. the "Kingdom of Cappadocia near Taurus" or "Greater Cappadocia" had been expanding southwards. By the first century B.C.E. it had actually reached the coast, for Archelaus, king of this country, built himself a palace on the island of Elaeussa.<sup>1</sup> This was a few miles to the east of the mouth of the Calycadnus River in western Cilicia or Cilicia Tracheia as it was called. Hence, for a short time Cappadocia actually had a sea coast. Hence, the 'i of Caphtor need mean no more than "the coastland of Caphtor."

This leads back to a re-consideration of the meaning of 'i, and we find that besides meaning "island" it also means no more than "coastland," as for instance in Isaiah xx, 6 where it is used of Palestine.

The last centuries B.C.E. when Greater Cappadocia was expanding towards the sea were also the very time that the translators were at work on the Septuagint.<sup>2</sup> Hence, as their archaeological researches had evidently led them to place Caphtor on the southern coast of Asia Minor, they were fully justified in translating the traditional name of the home of the Philistines by Καππαδοκία, for it was a country which in their time had a sea coast just there.

Caphtor was the ancient Keftiu of the Egyptians<sup>3</sup> before the Great Migrations of the thirteenth and twelfth centuries B.C.E. which entirely destroyed the political arrangements of the Near

<sup>1</sup> Strabo XII, i, 4; XIV, v, 6.

<sup>2</sup> They began their work under Ptolemy ii (285-246 B.C.E.) and had finished before the beginning of the Christian era.

<sup>3</sup> It was also the Kaptara of the cuneiform inscriptions, but beyond fitting in with the rest they give no help in this enquiry.

East. Caphtor was also the home of the Philistines. In a number of studies I have already brought much evidence that Keftiu lay up and down the Calycadnus River in Cilicia Tracheia and that there are signs of the Philistines in the same neighbourhood. The two most recent are *Keftiu and Karamania (Asia Minor) in Anatolian Studies*, iv, pp. 33-48, and *Caphtor-Cappadocia in Vetus Testamentum*, vi, pp. 199-210. A Greek tradition refers to a certain Kabdêros, which name must represent Caphtor. It says that he was king of Cilicia and father of Pamphyle,<sup>1</sup> which places Kabdêros-Caphtor somewhere between eastern Cilicia and Pamphylia, just where Cilicia Tracheia lay.

G. A. WAINWRIGHT

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<sup>1</sup> Höfer in Roscher, *Ausführl. Lexikon d. griech. und röm. Mythologie*, s.v. Pamphyle



כן יזה גוים רבים עליו יקפצו מלכים פיהם

“So shall he sprinkle many nations; kings shall shut their mouths at him:” (R.V.).

יזה (*yazzeh*), “he shall sprinkle,” is clearly unacceptable for a variety of reasons. Apart from the unwarranted theological interpretation associating it with the act of baptism, this translation does not support the parallelism suggested by the second half of the line— עליו יקפצו מלכים פיהם

Its derivation from a root meaning (in the *Hiph'il*) *so shall he cause to leap* is equally suspect (see *Brown, Driver and Briggs, s.v. II [נוה]*).

Further evidence against the unsuitability of these renderings may be drawn from the Septuagint, which translates:

Οὕτως θαυμάσονται ἔθνη πολλὰ ἐπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ συνάξουσιν βασιλεῖς τὸ στόμα αὐτῶν.

“So shall many nations marvel at him, and kings shall shut their mouth.” (Otley's translation).<sup>1</sup>

It seems clear then that LXX had a reading in the Hebrew Bible different from M.T. by its rendering of θαυμάσονται. We notice, first of all, that what LXX must have had in front of it was a verb in the plural, and not, as in M.T., in the singular. Moreover, it makes גוים רבים the subject, and not, as in M.T., the object. Lastly, again unlike M.T., it tacks עליו on to the first hemistich, which would seem to be a mistake, as it fits in far better with the second hemistich.

LXX thus throws a good deal of light upon the textual problem, even if it does not provide a clear pointer to the *Urtext*. Several emendations have been proposed. The student will find them duly recorded in Kittel-Kahle (3rd ed.). The editors of that volume are most partial to ישתעו because, no doubt, it is closest in meaning to θαυμάσονται.

However, it is (or should be) a cardinal principle in textual criticism that the emendation offered should be as close as possible textually to the reading it seeks to supersede. On this ground alone ישתעו must be rejected.

<sup>1</sup> *The Book of Isaiah according to the Septuagint*. I., p. 276. (2nd ed. Cambridge, 1909).

An emendation which does less violence to יבוזה is יבוהו (*yibhzūhū*), "(many nations) shall despise him." Actually, the new reading postulates the omission of one letter only—the ב. For it should be remembered that in the earliest transmission of Biblical text, the ו at the end would not have been inserted. The form which this word would have appeared is probably יבוה (*viz. yibhzūhū*).

The emended line would therefore read as follows:

— כן יבוהו נויִם רבים עליו יקפצו מלכים פיהם

"So shall many nations despise him; kings shall shut their mouths at him:"

In addition to supporting the parallelism, the appropriateness of the new reading in its context scarcely needs stressing. For we find a form from the same root, namely נבוה, *despised*, occurring twice in one verse in the very next chapter (LIII. 3), where the theme of the Suffering Servant is continued and elaborated.

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JACOB LEVEEN

H. BARDTKE, *Hebräische Konsonantentexte*. xviii + 80 pp. Leipzig (Harrassowitz), 1954.

A very useful aid for Academic teaching; contains 55 unpunctuated Biblical texts (9-10,000 words); the Gezer Calendar, Siloam inscription, Lachish Letters, etc.; 2 pp. from Ben Sira, 3½ pp. from DSIa, the whole of DSD and DSH, two pieces from CDC, the two Bar Kochba letters; and pieces from the Apocrypha in medieval and modern translations. The last item could with advantage have been replaced by some original medieval writings in Biblical style (*Yashar*, *Yosippon*, *Saadia*, or the like); the rest is most welcome, especially as some of the material is hard to find, or only available in expensive editions. In the Biblical text (which follows BH<sup>3</sup>) some emendations have been introduced. The text of the Dead Sea material is critical, Bardtke being a well-known authority in this field. The print is small, but very clear.

C. RABIN.

HARRIS BIRKELAND, *The Language of Jesus* (Avhandlingar utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo, II. Hist.-Filos. Kl. 1954. No. 1). 40 pp. Oslo, 1954. Price 6/6.

The character of Mishnaic Hebrew (לשון חכמים) has been the subject of much controversy. In the nineteenth century it was generally held to be an artificial jargon, resulting from the attempts of Aramaic-speaking rabbis to write Biblical Hebrew. Now, especially owing to the researches of Professor M. Z. Segal, this view has become practically untenable, though it still appears in some recent text-

books. Mishnaic Hebrew is now viewed as an organic development of a form of the language spoken at the same time as Biblical Hebrew though different from it. Indeed, one scholar has gone so far as to maintain that Mishnaic Hebrew was the common spoken language of Biblical times, and Biblical Hebrew an artificial creation of the scribal class (A. Bendavid-Feuerstein, *Leshon ha-Miqra o Leshon Hakhamim?*, Tel Aviv 1951).

Attention has therefore shifted to the questions when and where Mishnaic Hebrew was spoken and how it replaced Biblical Hebrew as literary idiom. Professor Birkeland dealt with the latter problem in *Språk og Religion hos Jøder og Arabere* (Oslo, 1949), an important study in social linguistics.

In the present work he returns to the question from another angle. It is perhaps insufficiently realized to what extent the theory that the Jews of the Second Temple period spoke Aramaic (and therefore Mishnaic Hebrew could not be a spoken language) is due to the conviction that the New Testament cannot be wrong in making Jesus pronounce Aramaic sayings on four occasions: Mark v. 41; vii. 34; xiv. 36; xv. 34. Birkeland shows that the two latter sayings may be as well, or better, interpreted as Hebrew, while the two first were, according to him, given in transliterated Aramaic in the Greek text precisely for the reason that his use of that language was an unusual occurrence, restricted to these occasions.

The main argument is backed up by the most up-to-date treatment so far available of the question, with detailed discussion of some of the

recent theories proposed. This general exposé gives Birkeland's essay a value far beyond the validity of the central arguments concerning the transmitted sayings of Jesus. With regard to the latter, it should be said that we know even less about the linguistic situation in Galilee, judaized only since ca. 100 B.C., than about that in Judaea. In view of the prevalence of Aramaic there in the period of the Palestinian Talmud, it may well be that the mixed population spoke Aramaic before the conquest by Aristobulos and that Mishnaic Hebrew had never been alive in Galilee.

Birkeland rightly points out that if any of the early Christian tradition was recorded in Hebrew, it would have been in the pseudo-Biblical language of the Dead Sea Scrolls, rather than in Mishnaic. Since the publication of an Aramaic writing from Qumran (*Revue Biblique* lxii (1955) p. 222-45) we have independent evidence that Aramaic, too, was used in circles close to those from which Christianity originated. It is Birkeland's merit to have shown the full complexity of the linguistic picture of the time, and thus provided safe ground for discussion just at this moment when the new material from the Qumran caves has to be evaluated.

C. RABIN.

ZE'EV BEN-HAYYIM, *Studies in the Traditions of the Hebrew Language*. 150 pp. Instituto "Arias Montano," Madrid-Barcelona, 1954.

This volume, the first English publication by a well-known Israeli scholar, who is Associate Professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, contains four separate items; all have in common the methodical

utilization of all available sources for the history of Hebrew pronunciation.

The first and longest study deals with two distinct but related problems: the form of the pronominal suffix of the 2nd masc. singular and the nature of the syllable preceding it. Sievers, and lately Kahle, have argued that this suffix was really *-āḥ*, and the *-ḥā* we are accustomed to read was artificially imported (according to Kahle from Arabic). With very full documentation, B.-H. is able to prove that in the tradition of Bible reading, as practised by the learned, the suffix always remained *-ḥā*, but in non-Biblical texts the reading (and pointing) *-āḥ* became established under the influence of Aramaic.

He makes a convincing case for the existence of this Aramaic impact, tending on the whole to make forms similar in Hebrew and Aramaic identical with the Aramaic ones. Since the non-Biblical texts, including the liturgical ones, are generally in varieties of Mishnaic Hebrew, it may be suggested that we have here an independent tradition of Mishnaic Hebrew rather than direct Aramaic influence. That Mishnaic Hebrew approached Aramaic in its phonetic structure is well known, and indeed must have been unavoidable in a community which was no doubt largely bilingual. The fact that, as B.-H. points out (p. 31), Biblical passages woven into liturgical poems were read according to the rules of non-Biblical texts, indicates that the difference was one of rhythm and other basic factors, which made quick change over impossible, rather than of minor points of grammar. We may perhaps compare the "clerical"



manner of reading Bible lessons in English.

With regard to the sounds preceding the suffix, the author arrives at the conclusion that our reading *yadeka* for יָדֶךָ is wrong. The form should be read according to the same syllabic pattern as *shimka*, i.e. *yodka* (with *qamaṣ qatan*), and similarly *domka*, *deborka*, the *o* for the expected short *a* (as in *yaedkaem* from *yadkaem*) being due to vowel harmony, i.e. assimilation to the *qamaṣ* of the suffix; it is, of course, well known that in the Tiberian pronunciation *qamaṣ gadol* and *qamaṣ qatan* were pronounced alike as *o*. In the texts with Babylonian pointing and in the practice of accentuation, B.-H. is able to find some traditional support for this theory.

The second essay discusses the phonetic implications of some spellings involving the letter *waw* in the orthography of the Dead Sea Scrolls. For the frequent confusion between the third masc. sing. suffixes *-o* and *-aw* he cites the sound-change *au* > *o* in the Samaritan pronunciation (*banaw* > *bano*, *shaw* שָׁוָא > *shu*). Important is his explanation of spellings like כִּיָּא, שְׁוֹא־רֹאשׁ and others as representing a two-peak stress, i.e. the break-up of a long stressed vowel into two short vowels divided by a more or less pronounced hiatus. Such two-peak vowels, incidentally, can be heard in the pronunciation of many Israelis in words like *pa'am* פַּעַם or *sha'a* שָׁעָה. This interpretation leads on to a new and attractive explanation of Massoretic pointings like *meod*, hitherto widely assumed to be either artificial or influenced by Aramaic.

In his third essay, "The Import-

tance of the Samaritan Tradition to the History of Hebrew and Aramaic," Ben-Hayyim shows that, although present-day Samaritan pronunciation does not distinguish hard and soft values of בִּנְדָכַת, it did at one time distinguish them in בִּרְפָת, and surprisingly enough also in *waw*, the latter being sounded as *b* when it would—as we should say—require a *dagesh qal*, as *v* otherwise, except the word "and," which also today is always *w*, sounding before consonant like a whispered *u*. This discovery confirms, against the views advanced by some recent scholars, the antiquity of the spirantization of the plosives in Hebrew.

Finally the book contains phonetic transcriptions of lengthy poetical texts in Samaritan Hebrew and Samaritan Aramaic, written down at Nablus from the mouth of priests. They are provided with a phonetic and grammatical commentary, and the Aramaic piece with a translation. This chapter forms a welcome addition to our small store of reliably transcribed texts, to which the same author had already made an important contribution by publishing Dt. xxxii. 1-43 in *Sefer Torczyner*, 1946.

The tendency of Hebrew linguistic studies in recent years—largely inaugurated by Prof. P. Kahle—has been away from concentration upon the text of the printed Bible and towards the utilization of other MSS traditions, early grammatical treatises, and oral reading traditions. Israel, of course, with its collection of Jewish communities, is the ideal place for pursuing such researches, which also fall in line with the general tendency of Israeli Judaistic studies

to "rescue" the remnants of Jewish folk tradition and literary lore. Such studies are exposed to dangers of amateurism and arbitrary selection; Ben-Hayyim, by insistence on strict method and complete documentation, has skilfully avoided these dangers and gone a long way towards establishing the scientific character of this new and fertile approach.

C. RABIN.

DAVID MIEROWSKY ד"ר, *Hebrew Grammar and Grammarians Throughout the Ages*. Reproduced from typescript, 209 pp. Johannesburg, David Dainow, to be obtained from J. Sarna, 13 Rondu Road, London, N.W.2. 1955. Price 3 gns.

Mierowsky was born in Lithuania on 14 June, 1887 and studied at Königsberg. In South Africa he worked as a Hebrew teacher, since 1928 as director of the S.A. Board of Jewish Education. He was also lecturer in Hebrew Grammar and Literature at the University of the Witwatersrand, to which university the present book was presented as thesis for the degree of Doctor of Literature. Mierowsky also contributed copiously to the Jewish press and his book, *Letters of a Jewish Father to his Son*, is widely read in South Africa. He died at Johannesburg on 1st June, 1949.

The history of Hebrew philology is an interesting and intricate subject, which has attracted the attention of many scholars. While the number of specialized studies is legion, however, there are only few studies presenting its development as a whole. As bibliographical information, in this reviewer's experience, is hard to come by, an

enumeration of the items known to him may be found useful:

1. L. DUKES, *Litteraturhistorische Mitteilungen* (=H. Ewald & L. Dukes, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der ältesten Auslegung*, etc., II), 1844.

2. S. MUNK, "Notice sur Abou 'l-Walid Merwan Ibn-Djana'h et sur quelques autres grammairiens hébreux du Xe et du XIe siècle," *Journal Asiatique*, IVe serie, t. 15-16 (1850).

3. A. NEUBAUER, "Notice sur la lexicographie hébraïque avec des remarques sur quelques grammairiens postérieurs à Ibn Djana'h," *ibid.* Ve serie, t. 18 (1861) et seq.

4. H. S. Lerner, **הולרות** **הדקדוק**, *Hashaḥar* for 1876 quoted from Mierowsky; I have not seen this article.

5. W. BACHER, *Die Hebräische Sprachwissenschaft vom 10. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert* (=Winter & Wünsche, *Die jüd. Literatur*, II, also separately), 1892.

6. *Id.*, "Die Anfänge der hebräischen Grammatik," *ZDMG* 49 (1895) 1-63; 335-92.

7. L. ROSENAK, *Die Fortschritte der hebräischen Sprachwissenschaft von Jehuda Chajjug bis David Kimchi*, I (all publ.), Bremen 1898.

8. S. POZNANSKI, "New Material on the History of Hebrew and Hebrew-Arabic Philology during the X-XII Centuries," *JQR* 16 (1925-6) 237-66.

9. H. HIRSCHFELD, *Literary History of Hebrew Grammarians and Lexicographers* (=Jews' College Publications, No. 9), 1926.

10. W. CHOMSKY, "How the Study of Hebrew Grammar Began and Developed," *JQR* 35 (1944-5) 281-301.

II. D. YELLIN, *תולדות התפתחות הדקדוק העברי* (published posthumously), 5705.

All these works cover only the Spanish-Provençal period, sometimes with an introduction dealing with the Talmudic and Gaonic-Massoretic stages. Yellin's is the only one which can be used today as an introduction for the beginner, since Bacher's pioneer treatment is outdated by Geniza discoveries. Mierowsky's work is equally suitable as a first introduction; though less detailed than Yellin, it is marked by a wider perspective and a sound common-sense approach, which makes up for a number of small inaccuracies, due mainly to the neglect of articles and publications which must have been difficult to obtain in South Africa. Though there are no new discoveries, the author has gone back wherever possible to the original works.

The main value of Mierowsky's work, however, lies in the later chapters, which take the story of Hebrew grammar on to our own days, and deal not only with the achievements of Christian Hebrew scholarship, but also with such figures as Hanau, the Haskalah grammarians, and the grammarians of the Hebrew renaissance, notably J. Steinberg. A special chapter is devoted to "Hebrew Grammar in Modern Palestine"; it is good on works which were accessible to the author, but for the rest seems to rely mainly on what could be culled from the periodical *Leshonenu*, and is partly no more than a catalogue of authors' names (some incorrectly vocalized) and titles of articles. It throws a somewhat tragic light on the conditions of Jewish cultural life that a man so

interested in Hebrew studies should have had only such tenuous contacts with research going on in Palestine. It is equally regrettable that this chapter, with all its faults, is—as far as known to me—the only treatment in a European language of the achievements of contemporary Israeli linguistic scholarship. As such, of course, it should be read by all who are interested in Hebrew culture.

A chapter of 12 pp. on "Hebrew Philology and Archaeology" seems to have been inserted as a make-weight and is both somewhat superficial and incomplete. Mierowsky shows in it that he realized the importance of an appreciation of the sources of our knowledge of Hebrew as part of the history of Hebrew grammar and lexicography, and might perhaps, had he been spared to see his book through the press, have enlarged this section. As it is, we must be grateful to all those who helped the widow to get the volume published in clear and beautiful typescript. It is a pity, though, that no index was added.

C. RABIN.

I. AVINERY, *Hekhal Rashi*, vols. I-III, Tel-Aviv, published by the author, 1940-56.

Isaac Avinery is a figure well known to the Israeli reader. For many years he has been editing a "Pinnat ha-lashon" in the left-wing daily *'Al Hamishmar*, and a "Sha'ar ha-lashon" in the annual *Luah ha-Kooperatzia*. In these he deals with the current problems of Hebrew grammar and style in a spirit of refreshing liberalism, ready to acknowledge neologisms as long as they conform, in his view, to the

logic and spirit of the language and contribute something to it. His positive attitude to linguistic innovation also characterizes his *Kibbushe ha-'Ivrit be-dorenu* (1946). Although he pays little attention to the methods of modern linguistics or to European Hebrew scholarship, and for his grammar relies mainly on the medieval Hebrew philologists, his discussions are valuable for their common sense and interest in the living, developing language. It is this interest, no doubt, which in the first instance led him to inquire into the language of that most popular of all medieval commentators, Rashi. It was a happy choice, for Rashi's language is far from all anxious purism. In its lively phrases Biblical, Talmudic and later elements jostle each other, and European vernacular influence is prominent in the syntax. It represents the best of a period when Hebrew served as the sole all-purpose written language of a 100% literate and mentally active community. It is thus likely, if properly investigated, to throw some light on the problems of our own revived all-purpose Hebrew. Avinery never loses sight of this aspect of his work.

The *Hekhal*, planned at 5 vols., is described in the English title as an "Encyclopaedia containing alphabetically all that Rashi created in the field of language and exegesis." Vol. I contains two such alphabetic lists. One comprises all words and usages found for the first time in Rashi. Since the literature immediately preceding R. is largely lost, and even the extant works have not been linguistically examined, many, perhaps the majority, of these may have been taken over by him; some are no doubt conscious

or unconscious innovations. The list is followed by an index of nominal patterns. The second list records syntactical and idiomatic uses of words, many of them also new. In each case the full quotation is given, so that the words are seen in their context, and this followed, where necessary, by a brief discussion, listing comparative material from earlier sources etc. Both the commentaries to Bible and Talmud have been drawn on. Between them these two lists constitute a valuable contribution to the historical lexicography of Hebrew.

Vol. II lists all lexicographical explanations of Hebrew and Aramaic words in the two commentaries of Rashi, again giving the original text with short notes, mainly textual. This is the volume of interest to the widest circle of readers, as it provides a kind of "Rabbinic" dictionary of Biblical Hebrew, showing how each word was understood without the necessity of looking up concordances and scanning through the various occurrences to find the one on which Rashi commented. Since Rashi's interpretations deeply influenced the way in which earlier Modern Hebrew writers used the Biblical vocabulary, it can be used with advantage for reading those authors, too.

Vol. III is again divided into two sections. The first is a complete list of all Rashi's grammatical explanations, the famous "Rashi-Dikduk." These are arranged under grammatical headings and consecutively numbered. Here the text—or texts—are followed by often lengthy discussion, elucidating Rashi's point, quoting, and sometimes refuting, the strictures of



the super-commentaries, and giving parallels from Kimchi, Ibn Janah, and others, in some cases also listing Biblical examples additional to those quoted by Rashi. An index lists the passages in their Biblical (and Talmudic) order. Here again Avinery has done much to lighten the work of reference to Rashi, and enabled the reader to gain, for the first time, a survey of Rashi's treatment of Hebrew grammar. For the lay reader merely interested in understanding Rashi, the explanations provided and the confrontation with related material will often be an eye-opener.

The second part of vol. III is called "Be'er Yitzhaki," and deals with Modern Hebrew, or rather with those of its problems on which Rashi's usage can throw any light. Under grammatical headings, some 190 problems are discussed, followed by discussion of the particles in alphabetical order. In each case the matter is dealt with in the way familiar from Avinery's "language corners," except that he cites in support passages from Rashi. Apart from its modern relevance, this section, too, forms a valuable collection of material for medieval Hebrew usage.

The sad lack of a critical edition of Rashi with MS apparatus is of course only too noticeable in these philological discussions; Avinery can only use printed editions and must make his own emendations. Perhaps the existence of this impressive homage to the great commentator will encourage scholars to undertake such editions now, when the *Hekhal* is available to ease their task, and in their turn enable Avinery to perfect his work. He has certainly placed the scholarly

world under a debt of gratitude, but also, as has been indicated, the non-specialist reader will find much of use to him in these volumes.

C. RABIN.

HAYYIM ROSÉN, *Ha-Ivrit shelanu*. 308 pp. Tel-Aviv, *Am Oved*, 5716 (1956).

As any observant visitor to Israel knows, spoken Hebrew deviates in many respects from the rules of the grammar-books. There are two schools of thought in Israel: one (comprising the majority of educationalists) condemns all this as mistakes, and seeks its origin in ignorance and the influence of languages previously spoken; the other sees in it genuine innovations and evidence that Hebrew is a truly living language, subject to laws of linguistic change. The latter school has the sympathy of large sections of the younger generation, for whom this "slang" (the local name for colloquial speech) is part of the complex which makes up their Israel. While the purist school denies that the neologisms follow any recognizable pattern, the "colloquialist" school asserts that a common, standardized "Israeli Hebrew" already exists, spoken at least by the descendants of European Jews and those former oriental Jews who have assimilated to them.

The systematic investigation of Israeli speech forms goes back to the study of schoolchildren's mistakes in the thirties, notably by Dr. Rivkai, and some small collections of "slang" words. In recent years many interesting features have been brought to light by H. Blanc in his light-vein column *Leshon Bne Adam* in the weekly *Massa* (under the

pseudonym "Kablan.") To some extent the dialogue in novels, etc. has begun to represent the spoken language—a valuable aid to research. H. Rosén himself, who is Lecturer in Linguistics at the Hebrew University, has published several pamphlets and articles on the subject.<sup>1</sup>

The present book, as its name suggests, stands squarely on the "colloquialist" platform. Its main part is a 104 pp. analysis of the phonemics and accidence of the speech of those educated at secondary schools and "officials in the exercise of their duty," i.e. something like "public-school English." The present reviewer is not in a position to check how widespread its use is within the limits drawn by R.: individual variation is always larger in "educated" speech than in local dialects, owing to the cross-pull of literary and familiar-colloquial influences. In the special circumstances of Modern Hebrew it can hardly fail to be even wider than usual. In any case the speech-form described is rather conservative, preserving, for instance, most glottal stops and rejecting *otchem* for *etchem*. It is only natural that, in spite of Rosén's considerable ingenuity in fact-finding, speakers of the same colloquial will often disagree with individual points. We need only recall the violent recent controversy in *Encounter* and elsewhere between U-speakers as to the details of U-speech.

Rosén subjects his facts to a

strict "structuralist" analysis, concerned primarily with the establishment of the phoneme-pattern of the language and secondarily with morphology in its interaction with phonemics, or morphophonemics. His interest in juncture phenomena (the phonetics of word and sentence boundaries) leads him also into syntax, though no special chapter is devoted to that field. As the terminology shows, we have here an exercise in a discipline still esoteric to many, and in particular to the Israeli public. R. explains his methods and concepts as he goes along (a list of terms with English equivalents appears pp. 243-5), but even so it remains heavy going. It is certainly not made less forbidding by his system of phonemic notation, designed to manage with a minimum of symbols and to accommodate morphophonemics and etymology, which results in forms like /beiet/<sup>1</sup> "house," /suseex/ "thy (f.) horses," or /higdilet/ "you (f. sg.) made great." Yet R. was undoubtedly right in applying the method in all its strictness, as only in this way can a sound basis for discussion be obtained. His rules for "Israeli Hebrew" allow of no more individual variation than those evolved for Biblical Hebrew. It is interesting that they sometimes throw light on irregularities of the latter, and that, for instance, the rules elaborated for the sounding or silencing of mobile Sheva are not unlike the ones medieval grammarians give (cf. Bergsträsser's *Hebr. Grammatik* I, par. 10h).

By way of introduction, R. supplies us with a structural analysis of the remnants of the Moabite

<sup>1</sup> Another work, R. W. WEIMAN, *Native and Foreign Elements in a Language: A Study in General Linguistics Applied to Modern Hebrew*, Philadelphia 1950, does not really represent Israeli Hebrew, though important on other respects.

<sup>1</sup> The symbol /- - / indicates phonemic transcription.

language, followed by a comparison of it with the neighbouring dialects so as to illustrate the methods of comparative and geographical linguistics. Interesting as this is, it is a mere excursion, since neither method plays a role in the study of the modern colloquial. Then he briefly traces the history of Hebrew up to the modern period, again with major digressions, such as an attempt to explain the Biblical treatment of *bgdkpt* in terms of juncture-phonetics, or a demonstration of the Aramaic origin of the Mishnaic verbal nouns. In fact, this whole chapter proves a digression because R. proceeds to explain that as far as modern spoken Hebrew is concerned, the historical distribution matters nothing, for all previous material is, in relation to it, an undifferentiated mass of "sources" from which present-day Hebrew selects on principles entirely of its own, as R. brilliantly demonstrates on some examples. The present reviewer, however, finds it impossible to agree with R. when he states that this "source" basis was the commonly-studied religious texts. In fact it was the written language of the 1880s, which in its turn was an outgrowth of Haskalah Hebrew, enriched from older "sources" of all kinds. The enrichment from the sources, an activity of writers and teachers, has gone on ever since; in fact it has been a normal process in Hebrew for over 2,000 years, and Israeli Hebrew stands at the end of a continuous, if not always rectilinear development.

Altogether R. seems to take insufficient account of the cleavage, normal to most languages, between written and spoken language, and

the subtlety of their influences upon each other. He thus gives rise to the mistaken impression that he wished to see the written language colloquialized; this accusation has indeed been levelled at him by a reviewer (S. Zemach in *Davar*, 9. III. 56). R. himself writes of course not colloquial but an, albeit somewhat heavy, literary Hebrew.

The last chapter, "Signonot Yisre'eliyim" ("Israeli style-forms"), falls into two parts. One is a spirited denunciation of the system of stylistic vetting by an editor or *mesaggen*, which at times results in the obliteration of the author's individual style and even meaning. The other is an interesting study of translation technique. R. shows that the "high-flown" Hebrew adopted by some of the star translators and their imitators fails to render the stylistic level and emotional connotations of the texts they translate. It is, of course, true that the reason lies in the fact that these translators choose to ignore the impact of the colloquial upon the stylistic stratification of the vocabulary. This is most vividly shown by a sample of the work of a translator living outside Israel, where gross colloquialisms appear side by side with highly literary words. This particular sample throws into relief the problem of the future relation between Israeli Hebrew and the diaspora. This whole chapter, in parts very entertaining, is however more important for its challenge than for its results.

Mrs. Hannah Rosén contributes a fascinating chapter on the rhetorical pattern of Ben Gurion's speeches. She shows that they satisfy, in rhythm, parallelisms and sound features, the standards of Classical

rhetoric. Though Ben-Gurion is a good Classical scholar, this remarkable agreement is probably due to two other factors: the survival of a rhetorical tradition in Slavonic countries and the still highly inflectional character of modern Hebrew, which can play with its grammatical endings like Latin or Greek.

Although the detailed table of contents makes up for it to some extent, the lack of an index in a book of this kind is regrettable. The printers have tackled the complex problems of transliteration and linguistic symbols remarkably well and achieved a pleasing appearance befitting the importance of this pioneer work.

C. RABIN.

S. MOSCATI, *L'Oriente antico*, xii + 137 pp., with 30 plates and a map of the ancient Near East. Casa Editrice Feancesco Vallardi, Milan, 1952.

M. NOTH, *Die Welt des Alten Testaments*, 2nd ed., xv + 314 pp. Berlin: Töpelmann, 1953. DM. 20.50.

Within the past few decades, archaeology of the ancient Near East has pioneered a new past. Brilliant achievements, more particularly in the domain of long-forgotten languages, have added greatly to our knowledge of the world in which Israel lived. Civilizations or rather cultures that existed in Palestine long before the Hebrews were a nation have been uncovered.

The account that can now be given of the rise and development of civilization in the Near East is of fascinating interest in itself. But it is also of the greatest significance for

the understanding of Judaism, which in its origin and earlier history was an integral part of the ancient Near East. We now know far more of the rise and fall of the Empires of the Near East than was known to the students and the critics of the Bible of the last century and the early decades of the present century, and indeed we know far more than the Bible itself has told us.

All serious students of the Bible realise that a knowledge of results of archaeological discoveries is indispensable to the understanding of ancient Jewish history and culture. Moreover, the better we understand the historical background of the Fertile Crescent, the more we realize the very remarkable fact that, although the tiny land of Israel could not always resist by force the attacks of the conquering armies or hordes of Egyptians, Hittites, Amorites, Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Graeco-Syrians, and Romans, the moral structure of the Hebrews was never appreciably affected by their incorporation in the various imperial organizations.

Scholars have rightly pointed out that a proper utilization of the abundant new archaeological material for the general reader is a matter of some urgency. Recently, various attempts have been made to perform this arduous task. Here we may refer to two excellent handbooks, one written by the Italian Jewish scholar Sabatino Moscati, Professor in the University of Rome, the other by the German scholar, Martin Noth, Professor in the University of Bonn. The two books differ widely in their titles, their purpose, their method of presentation, as well as in their contents, but they have much in



common and present certain similar shortcomings.

Both authors have achieved a marvel of compression and they give us works which command the unqualified admiration of the reviewer. They will put every reader well abreast of the latest scholarship on various problems of the immense field of ancient Near Eastern history. The deficiencies, to some of which both authors allude in their Foreword, are mainly inherent in the following three facts: (1) it is humanly impossible to master the whole field; (2) therefore, the greater part of the work must be based on second-hand evidence; (3) certain paramount aspects have been neglected: for instance, epigraphy (which, needless to say, is one of the main auxiliary branches of ancient history) plays a relatively small part in both books; also, the Bible plays an insufficient part in Moscati's book.

This latter work, *L'Oriente antico* ("The Ancient East"), which is richly illustrated, is a handbook in the series "Universal History," which is directed by Professor E. Pontieri, Rector of Naples University. Hitherto there has been no recent Italian history of the ancient Near East. The book contains twenty chapters divided into six parts: (A) Introduction; (B) The Beginnings of the Great Empires (c. 2600-2000 B.C.E.); (C) The Autonomous Great Empires (c. 2000-1550 B.C.E.); (D) Equilibrium of the Great Empires (c. 1550-twelfth century B.C.E.); (E) Unification and Fall of the Empire in the Near East (twelfth century-332 B.C.E.); (F) Conclusion; Bibliography; Chronological Tables; Index of Names; Plates.

The four chapters of the Introduction (pp. 1-13) deal with the geographical and ethnical background, the chronology, pre-history and proto-history of Western Asia and Egypt (all the sections on Egypt are by Dr. Sergio Bosticco). The remaining sixteen chapters treat of the various peoples of the ancient Near East: the Sumerians (ch. v, pp. 14-22), the Amorites and the Early Babylonians (ch. vii, pp. 28-35), the Hittites (ch. x, pp. 50-58), the Hurrians (ch. xi, pp. 58-60), the Kassites (ch. xii, pp. 61-63), the Assyrians (ch. xiii, pp. 64-65, and ch. xv, pp. 70-77), the Canaanites (ch. xiv, pp. 66-69), the Aramaeans (ch. xvi, pp. 77-82), the Hebrews (ch. xvii, pp. 82-91), the "Chaldeans" (ch. xviii, pp. 91-95), the Persians (ch. xx, pp. 99-105). Chapters vi (pp. 23-27), viii (pp. 35-40), ix (pp. 43-50), and xix (pp. 95-99) deal with the various periods of Egyptian history. Each chapter contains sections on political history, religion, literature, art, also on juridical and social problems; questions of general culture, problems of state administration and organization, the history of science, and of other fields of learning are dealt with here and there. It goes without saying that the various problems are treated summarily, but the copious and well-selected Bibliography (pp. 109-120) and the excellent Chronological Tables (pp. 121-126) enable the reader to supplement his information.

Martin Noth, *Die Welt des Alten Testaments*, 2nd ed., appears as Vol. 3 of Series II ("Theological Handbooks") of the Töpelmann Collection, inaugurated by the late Professor Heinrich Frick, of Marburg; there are 11 illustrations and

maps in the text, with 4 plates and a Chronological Table.

Professor Noth divides the text into four parts, of which the first two deal with Palestinian Geography and Archaeology (pp. 1-82 and 83-143); Part III (pp. 144-236) with the history of the ancient Near East; and Part IV (pp. 237-290) with the history of the text of the Old Testament. Parts I, II, and IV are subdivided each into three chapters, whereas Part III contains eight chapters, the whole book containing fifty paragraphs. From what has been said here, it will be gathered that only Part III and certain sections of Parts I and II deal with the same subject-matter as Moscati's book. Noth's volume contains also a short Foreword (pp. vii-viii) and various Indices (Analytical Index, pp. 291-301; Biblical References, pp. 302-305; Hebrew Words and Names, pp. 306-307; Arabic Words and Names, pp. 308-312; and Abbreviations, pp. 313-314. Some sections contain bibliographies.

It is impossible in the space of a review to examine the two books in greater detail; on the whole, in spite of various minor defects, we have once more to emphasise that both works are a magnificent presentation of the essential characteristics of the remarkable civilizations of the ancient Near East, set forth with great scholarship and lucidity; they will no doubt be in demand by the student and the cultured layman alike.

D. DIRINGER.

SABATINO MOSCATI, *Geschichte und Kultur der semitischen Völker. Eine Einführung*. 2nd, revised ed., Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 1955, pp. 218 with 32 plates. (DM. 4.80)

A kind of supplement to Prof. Moscati's *L'Oriente Antico* (noticed elsewhere in this Journal) is his *Storia e Civiltà dei Semiti*, 1949, of which a completely revised German edition appeared in 1953. The qualities and deserved popularity of this excellent *Introduction* have called for a second ed. in which the author has incorporated more recent work and discoveries (Mari, Ugarit, the leather and papyrus Aramaic documents, Dead Sea Scrolls etc.). By a judicious use of qualifying adverbs such as "probably," "usually" etc. the author has skilfully avoided the besetting danger of all compressed handbooks, that of illegitimate generalisation. After a general survey of the area covered (geography, languages, races, origins) there follow concise and up-to-date chapters on the Babylonians and Assyrians, Canaanites, Hebrews, Aramaeans, Arabs and Ethiopians. Each chapter has sub-sections on the sources and documents, history, religion, society and law, literature and art of the culture concerned. In matters of religion the author is perhaps too prone to accept the myth-ritualist interpretation of the Ugaritic texts as librettos for seasonal rituals, and his discussion of Mesopotamian culture might have differentiated more between the specific features of Babylonia and Assyria respectively. The value and popularity of this masterly "Introduction" is attested by the fact that it is published in a pocket-book edition. This undoubted advantage at a time of rising book costs is also its only drawback. For this is not a book to be read and left in the train; it should be deposited on the reference shelf.

Z. W.

JAMES B. PRITCHARD (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament*. 2nd ed. corrected and enlarged. Princeton Univ. Press, London: Cumberlege, 1955, pp. xxi+544, 140s.

Since the appearance of the first edition in 1950, this authoritatively translated and superbly indexed volume of Near Eastern texts has established itself as an indispensable aid and reference work for Biblical scholars. The scholar working on a specific text or problem will always want to go back to the originals themselves or consult alternative translations, but the value of the volume as such remains unsurpassed. The second edition differs from the first in the removal of some misprints, additions of some bibliographical notations of recent date and the inclusion of two new sections: a selection of Canaanite and Aramaic Inscriptions (by Franz Rosenthal) and of South Arabian inscriptions (by Father A. Jamme). New texts of Akkadian myths and epics are translated by E. A. Speiser in *Addenda* (pp. 514-6) and are separately indexed.

It is only the bulk of this splendid volume which prevents one from describing it as the biblical scholars indispensable *vade-mecum*.

Z. W.

MARVIN H. POPE. *El in the Ugaritic Texts* (Supplement to *Vetus Testamentum*, vol. II). Leiden 1955. x+116 pp. E. J. Brill. Fl. 14.

M. H. Pope, Assistant Professor of Hebrew at Yale University, offers this fine study of El in the Ugaritic texts as a first instalment in a series of monographs on Ugaritic deities to be published in the near future. The book is divided into

eight chapters dealing with the question of 'el as appellative or proper name, the etymology of the name, Ugaritic names compounded with *il*, Bethel, etc. The three principal, and at the same time most rewarding, chapters are those on "El's Epithets and Attributes in the Ugaritic texts," "El's abode," and "El's status and significance."

The first two chapters are, perhaps, the least successful and they are inevitably inconclusive. The discussion as to whether 'el is an appellative or a proper name is somewhat long-winded; and since Cassuto has previously gone over virtually the same ground, this chapter might have been considerably compressed. As Pope himself realises the futility of establishing an etymology of 'el, it is not clear why he should wish to devote a special chapter to so unrewarding a question.

On the other hand, we find many valuable ideas and shrewd observations in the part dealing with El's attributes. Outstanding in this chapter is the treatment of El's marital relations. Pope's location of El's abode at Afqa-el Yammuneh is suggestive and, indeed, highly ingenious, though much of the argument is bound to be speculative. Pope is on firmer ground in rejecting Eissfeldt's conception of El as a "high god" and the focus of a "serious monotheistic movement" (p. 103). The author shows that Ugaritic mythology reflects the waning power of El, expressed especially in his procreative deficiencies, and his gradual replacement by Baal.

A few observations of detail:

If Pope understands El as a proper name rather than as an appellative,

then its Ethiopic equivalent is not 'amlak (p. 1) but 'egzi'abher. — On the linguistic position of Ugaritic (p. 5), the author had apparently not seen the arguments adduced in *TARBIZ* XXIII (1952), 3-4, and XXIV (1955), 2. — Since nothing is known about the vowel system of South Arabian (ESA), the reviewer fails to understand Pope's assertion (p. 16) that the "long vowel indicated (*sic*) in South Arabic may be regarded as a secondary development." — Ugaritic as "our second oldest Semitic language" (p. 19) is not a very happy phrase in this unqualified form. What can be asserted without fear of contradiction is that the Ugaritic texts are "our second oldest body of Semitic literary material" (p. 5) *hitherto discovered*. — Pope is probably right in interpreting Ugaritic *ab šnm* in the light of D. Winton Thomas' suggestion (*Prov.* XXIV, 21) to seek a connexion with Arabic *sn̄y* "to be exalted in rank" (p. 33). — On the question of the "eternal" and "durable" quality of deities discussed by Pope (pp. 34-5), the reviewer's observations on WTR'L AND YTRHD (*BSOAS* XV, 1 (1953), pp. 158-9) might have been considered. — On p. 47 *Dinburg* should read *Dinaburg*. — The mysterious *bkt* which has baffled all translators, including Pope (pp. 64-5), is surely a simple transposition (due to a scribal error) for *btk* (בִּתְּךָ) so patently demanded by the context. — Why the author should find Cassuto's rendering of *hršn* as *ya'ar* so surprising (p. 71) eludes the reviewer. — The Arabian *Tihāmah* is not, as Pope alleges (p. 72), to be compared to Hebrew 'āpse 'āreš as the "distant (*sic*!) coastal region of south-west Arabia," but is the

"lowlands" of Arabia. — From the index it is not clear that Torczyner and Tur-Sinai are, in fact, the same person.

All students of Ugaritic will be grateful to Professor Pope for a stimulating book revealing erudition as well as judgment.

EDWARD ULLENDORFF.

ANDRÉ NEHER, *L'Essence du Prophétisme*, (Presses Universitaires de France, Paris), 1955; pp. 359. 900 francs.

Professor Neher's latest book follows on from his previous works, especially his extensive study of Amos (1950) and his valuable paper on the Conjugal Symbol in the O.T. (*Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses*, 1954). In the present work he attempts no less than a complete account of Hebrew Prophecy, taking into consideration the Ritual and Magic of the ancient Near East, the various cadres in Israelite society, (Priest, Prophet, Judge, King, Levite, Nazirite etc.) studying the key-words of the later prophets (such as *Ruah*, *Dabhar*, *Ḥesed*) and defining such concepts as *Torah* and *Brith*.

It is particularly the latter term that Neher does so much to illuminate. In the covenant-relation is to be located the special dimension of Israelite Prophecy; the *Mari* texts had shown a certain emphasis upon election and covenant (the election of the king by the god), and these may be regarded to some extent as the "pre-history" of Israelite prophecy; again in Egypt in the prophecy of Nefer-rohu there were moral overtones suggesting that the prophetic task was not unconnected with the promotion of social justice; in Greece



there were likewise hints and approximations, especially amongst philosophers and tragedians. But all these merely serve to throw into greater relief the uniqueness of Hebrew prophecy with its demand for holiness and its affirmation of a moral covenant as supremely binding upon the whole community. Above all, the covenant is seen to emancipate Man once and for all from the rhythm of Nature and the "time of myth." It throws him upon the inexorabilities of historical time—but it invests History itself with a Divine meaning and origin. The Covenant involves Man and God in a dynamic relationship, a "Dialogue in Time." Nature (hitherto supreme) now becomes contingent, and subordinated to the will of God who rules it through his creative *Ruah* and *Dabhar*, so that Nature too becomes the scene, not of myth, but of History.

This sort of thing has been said before but it is worth having it said again with the sympathy and intuition that Neher brings to bear. He also contributes his own original distinctions. He distinguishes for instance two classes of Prophets, for which Moses and Abraham stand respectively as the prototypes. This is refreshingly different from the usual critical line which dates Hebrew Prophecy from the eighth century. His distinction between good priests and bad priests (corresponding to good prophets and false prophets; good Pharisees and bad Pharisees—see p. 294), will also do good. In this connection (as in many other parts of the book) the author's use of Rabbinic sources is judicious and excellent. One can recommend, for instance, the note on *Hasidim* in the Rabbinic period

(pp. 269-70) and his conjecture that the *Hasidim* also existed as a recognized group in the period of the First Temple when they devoted themselves to the realization of the prophetic ideals of the Covenant and to exemplary works of piety and devotion.

It will be seen that through taking as its subject so central a phenomenon as Prophecy, this book tends to become something like a prolegomenon to the History of Israel combined with an attempt at a complete O.T. Theology. And it cannot be said to escape all the dangers and risks of so ambitious an undertaking. Neher's work is invariably brilliant and thought-provoking, but sometimes elaborate hypotheses are supported by slight evidence (for instance, the treatment of the *Nazir*, pp. 187-90). Again, although Neher takes into account as a rule the views of the critics with whom he agrees (e.g. Max Weber and Henri Frankfort), or disagrees (e.g. Wellhausen), there are others whose work might have been adduced in connection with his main thesis, about the relation between Prophecy and Covenant: Walter Eichrodt, for instance and the American, G. E. Wright. Moreover, at the moment when one would expect Neher to come to grips with the Myth and Ritual School, *viz.* when dealing with Priest and Prophet (p. 293f.), there are no references to contemporary literature at all. A remark about Wellhausen (p. 294) is hardly relevant to the present critical situation in England and Scandinavia—and will seem a little like flogging a dead horse. All this does not affect the truth or validity of Mr. Neher's conclusions but it

means that his book will carry less weight than it might with the followers of the schools of critical orthodoxy to whom (among others) it is evidently addressed.

But what is slightly more disturbing, even to the reader who might not be particularly concerned about current debates among Bible scholars and critics, is Neher's occasional tendency to overpress his main thesis about the nature of the Covenant as an alliance in *Time*. Neher sees the covenant as a kind of cosmic adventure which releases the participants from the trappings of *Space*. The teaching of the Levites helps the Prophets to affirm a sort of abstract and transcendental relationship to the God of History. For Jeremiah, and supremely for Ezekiel, the Temple is "snatched from the dimension of space and inserted into the dimension of Time" (pp. 303-4). Now all this seems to be to me extremely questionable. Is it true for instance to say of the Prophets that "neither land nor Temple were for them the localities of the covenant" (*ibid*): Neher claims to avoid a spiritualization of O.T. standards, but there is clearly a high degree of abstraction here which one finds difficult to reconcile with one's sense of the concrete nature of Israelite Prophecy.

It is true of course that the *B'rith*-theology is tough enough and permanent enough to be capable of functioning independently of local habitations; but is that the ideal of the Covenant? What of Zion and Jerusalem as a theme in prophecy? And what of the Land of Israel as an element in, if not a partner to, the Covenant? One has only to think of the first covenant-formulae used in

relation to Abraham, e.g. *Genesis* 12. 8; 15. 18; 17. 8, to realize that both Geography and History have their part to play in bringing about the Kingdom of God—at any rate in the O.T. view. Neher is in this perhaps a disciple of Maimonides, rather than Jehuda Halevi, but it would have been well to have had the other view stated.

Fortunately, however, the strength and value of this book, lie not in its hypotheses and theories, brilliant and original though they frequently are, but in the quality of its detailed exegesis. In this the author continues the method of analysis and comparison of apparently simple texts which he applied so successfully to *Amos*, and which enabled him to reconstruct the interior unity of that prophet's work. In this book, for instance, one is particularly grateful for his treatment of some crucial passages in *Hosea*, namely those dealing with the names of the prophet's three children. Here Neher's subtlety, his lucidity of exposition, his scholarship, and his feeling for the language of Scripture and its spiritual overtones, come into full play. One looks forward to examples of this kind of treatment applied systematically to the Psalms and the rest of the Prophets, and perhaps such contributions may be forthcoming from Professor Neher and the Department of the History of Judaism over which he presides at Strasbourg. In this he will be following in a distinguished tradition, that of Jacob and Cassuto; but he will also be in some sense helping to initiate an even more august tradition, for his work has what the work of these predecessors lacks, *viz.* an existential awareness of the

Covenant as an unbroken dialogue linking biblical history with our own and giving significance to all the tragic, and at times, glorious phases of Jewish History.

HAROLD FISCH.

S. D. GOITEIN, *Omanut ha-sippur ba-migra* (Narrative art in the Bible). 110 pp. 'Iyyunim la-madrikh wela-moreh, no. 23. Jerusalem, Jewish Agency, 5716.

The well-known Arabist, Professor Goitein, of the Hebrew University, is also an important writer on Hebrew education. The present booklet has evidently grown from his experience with Bible teaching in Israel, and is based on the literary approach widely used in Israeli schools, but in importance it transcends both the educational aspect and its small size, and amply deserves wider attention among those interested in the Bible. Though devoid of references to scholarly literature, it shows evidence of its extensive and critical use. While the name Form-Criticism never appears, Goitein's study uses form-critical methods and results in order to get beyond the position of that school.

G. finds the *Sitz im Leben* of the Biblical narrative in the agricultural community, in contrast to the Greek or Persian epic, which served a leisured aristocracy. At one stage he goes even further, and suggests, somewhat hesitantly, that many of the tales of Genesis, like those of the *Ayyām al-'Arab*, had the purpose of acquainting the Israelite with his genealogy and the correct attitude to be adopted to various related groups. The rural background, and the need for telling the stories during the farmer's

short leisure hours, explain their simplicity (to which according to G. corresponds also a simplicity of religious outlook, as contrasted with the involved mythology of the heathen) and economy of expression, as well as their emotional restraint. Here G. makes a telling comparison with Biblical poetry, which has the exactly opposite features of complication, repetition (parallelism etc.), and emotional exaggeration. He rightly stresses the similarity of Biblical narrative to the Classical drama, with its division into short scenes (finely illustrated in the Jephtha story) and restriction of the number of persons in each scene.

The second part of the booklet gives examples. The first is the autobiography of Nehemiah, which shows the remarkable persistency of the narrative technique, the second the Book of Esther; here the deep influence of a non-Jewish technique serves to show up all the more clearly the character of the national tradition. The Book of Ruth is shown to be a school example of this tradition at its best. Already in discussing Ruth, Goitein brings in a new quest, that for the purpose and meaning of the story (he finds Ruth to be on the theme of Loyalty). In the next three examples, the *'Aqedah*, the Book of Jonah, and the Song of Songs, this problem becomes central, and the consideration of narrative technique takes second place. Interesting above all is the discussion of the Song of Songs. Goitein adduces some new arguments for its literary unity, and in fact accepts the suggestion that it refers to a well-known story. On the problem of its literary genre, he remarks that, like so much Eastern

literature, it cannot be fitted into the categories of European genres. It represents a category of love poetry traditionally cultivated by women, and corresponding to the more active role of women in early Israelite society.

Apart from its rich harvest of new ideas, the booklet, with its many observations on points of detail, should be of great value to the teacher, for whom the whole series is intended.

C. RABIN.

E. F. SUTCLIFFE: *Providence and Suffering in the Old and New Testaments*, pp. viii + 175 (Nelson, 15s.).

Father Sutcliffe in no way exaggerates when he says that the "universal presence of suffering . . . calls for an explanation in every system of religious belief." By narrowing the problem to that of innocent suffering one does, of course, quickly bar one's way to an understanding of the real meaning of some great Eastern systems and Fr. Sutcliffe's introductory chapter on the solution offered by "some of the great religious systems of the past" is too sketchy and often inexact to be of real value. The reference to the kabbalistic doctrine of *gilgul* is misleading in many ways since the author's only authority on the subject is Gaster's article in the *ERE*. The chapter on "The First Sin and its Consequences" does not seem to realise that the story of the "Fall" has by far not the importance in "Hebraic thinking" which Christian theologians attribute to it. The chapters on Corporate Solidarity, the Psalms, the Book of Job etc. are lucid and readable but betray their theological

bias by their inability to go deeper than the intellectual level of "problems," "ideas," "solutions" etc. Another theological feature is the rigid scheme of valuations that dominates the account. Thus belief in a soul or in a future life and retribution in the hereafter are unquestioningly considered to be superior, and the evolution of religious ideas in this direction is therefore described as a providential progress towards maturity. Of course the type of the Suffering Servant is not merely "fulfilled" in Jesus but directly prophesies his coming. The author should have strengthened his sound point that "knowledge of good and evil" is an idiom for "omniscience" (p. 45) by reference to Dt. 1: 39 and especially to the conclusive parallelism 2 Sam. 14: 17 and 20. He is certainly right in rejecting the view that Ps. 73 teaches immortality. Though the book has no original contributions to make, it will certainly be found useful by theological students.

Z.W.

K.-D. SCHUNCK, *Die Quellen des I und II Makkabäerbuches*. Halle, Niemeyer, 1954, pp. 135.

This book was originally written as a dissertation for the doctorate in theology at Greifswald. It is an attempt to determine the sources of *I and II Maccabees* with far more precision than has been thought possible hitherto.

For *I Maccabees*, Schunck's point of departure is an interpretation, first propounded by Bickermann in Pauly-Wissowa s.v. *Makkabäerbücher*, of the chronological problem. Bickermann there suggested that dates relating to general events



are given according to the official Macedonian calendar (New Year in the autumn, era beginning 312 B.C.E.), while specifically Jewish events are dated by a Jewish era (beginning 1st Nisan 312 B.C.E.—subsequently modified by Bickermann to an era beginning 1st Nisan 311 B.C.E., a suggestion which Schunck rejects). But going beyond, Bickermann, Schunck believes that not only the Seleucid dates, but all portions of the book pertaining to secular history can be isolated, on stylistic grounds as well as by their contents, and assigned to a separate Syrian source. A list of portions deriving from this source is given on p. 43.

The main body of *I Maccabees* dealing with purely Jewish happenings, is further subdivided because of certain differences between the treatment of Judas and that of Jonathan and Simon, notably the greater fullness of the former and the frequency of Biblical quotations in it. As a source for this part Schunck postulates a "Judasvita," and tentatively suggests that this may have been written by Eupolemos, one of Judas' ambassadors to Rome, to be identified with the Jewish historian of that name who is mentioned by several ancient writers. From this source, however, he would exclude parts of Chapter 2, which incorporate a separate Mattathias legend. The accounts of Jonathan and Simon, according to Schunck, are derived from the annals of the High Priests.

The most controversial feature of the discussion is to be found in the conclusion, where Schunck comes out in favour of a Pharisaic author of *I Maccabees*. While it may readily be granted that the book was written before John Hyrcanus' break

with the Pharisees, it seems unlikely to the present reviewer that any Pharisee would ever be as enthusiastic for the Hasmonean High Priesthood as was the author of *I Maccabees*.

The author's treatment of *II Maccabees* is less satisfactory. He begins with the well-known problem of the chronological discrepancies between the two books, viz. that *II Maccabees* places the death of Epiphanes before the purification of the Temple and Lysias' first campaign after it, whereas *I Maccabees* has the reverse order. In accordance with most authorities so far, he gives preference to the order found in *I Maccabees*. The solution to the transposition in *II Maccabees* is to be found in one of the (originally) Hebrew letters pre-faced to the book, which, while giving a different version of Epiphanes' death, also assumes that it took place before the first Channukah (*II Macc.* 2, 11). Now since this letter, according to Schunck, was not combined with *II Maccabees* by the author (i.e. the epitomator of Jason of Cyrene's work), he believes that the book owes its final form to an editor, who wrote at about the time of the birth of Jesus.

Turning to the problem of the letters in Chapter II, Schunck recognises that the first, third and fourth of these, which are dated, are genuine, but should be assigned to the time of Epiphanes instead of Eupator. The second letter, however, pre-supposes the death of Epiphanes. For this reason, and because it is not addressed to the Jews and, moreover, betrays a supposedly pro-Jewish attitude, Schunck believes that it is a forgery

composed by the editor with the object of integrating the three genuine letters more firmly into their unnatural context. Schunck here ignores the simpler explanation of Laqueur (quoted in Bickermann's article in Pauly-Wissowa) that this letter was written at a later period, probably after Lysias' second campaign, and may itself have been the source of the error.

Since Schunck's book appeared the whole problem has been transformed by the publication of a Babylonian manuscript from which it is clear that Epiphanes did in fact die before the purification of the Temple. (cf. Schaumberger, *Biblica* 36, 1955, pp. 423-435).

The book contains an extensive and useful bibliography.

ANITA MITTWOCH.

*The Bible to-day: Historical, Social and Literary Aspects of the Old and New Testaments described by Christian Scholars.* 1955, pp. xv + 208. (Eyre and Spottiswoode for *The Times*, 25s.)

The enlarged and illustrated ed. of *The Times Bible Supplement* attempts to convey to the general reader of to-day the present state of scholarly research and opinion on the significance, text and nature of the Bible and its impact on Western civilization. Though some of the contributions are rather marginal to the subject (music!) and much space is rightly given to the English translations, the stress is on those aspects and problems which dominate the modern era of biblical scholarship. If none the less this volume is not *merely* scholarly this is due to the anxiety of the contributors to impress upon the reader that the Bible is a "theological"

fact in spite of modern critical methods and changes in theological thought-forms. In fact, the recently increasing stress on the Bible as a vehicle of the Word of God is itself a phenomenon that ought to receive separate treatment by a competent historian or sociologist of religion. For a purely scholarly undertaking, the specific authorship of "*Christian*" Scholars would, of course, be self-condemning. However, bearing in mind the theological interest of this symposium, the sub-title is only fair and meet and the execution is excellent.

Z.W.

ABRAHAM WEISS. *Le-heger ha-Talmud—The Talmud and its Development*, Philip Feldheim, New York, 1954, pp. 446, price \$5.

The Babylonian Talmud (like the Palestinian) is strangely silent on the subject of its own composition. Who were its final redactors? What role did they play? By which process did the Talmud assume its present shape? Is it possible to trace the development of the talmudic form of expression from the actual recorded debates through their recasting until it emerges as a literary style? How account for the puzzling phenomenon that statements are found attributed to both a Tannaitic and Amoraic source? What is the precise relationship between the *mēmra* (the legal maxim of an Amora) and the *sugya* (the talmudic section of which it is a part)? These, and kindred questions, have been almost entirely neglected by writers of talmudic methodology. The Classical methodological works such as the famous letter of Sherira Gaon, the *Mebo Ha-Talmud* of

Samuel ha-Nagid, and the *Sefer Keritut* of Samson of Chinon, deal with the history of the Talmud and with its terminology; modern writers like Zechariah Frankel and David Hoffmann have made a noteworthy contribution to what has been called the "Higher Criticism" of the Mishnah; but the detailed literary analysis of the *Gemara* has been left (with the exception of occasional notes in I. H. Weiss's *Dor Dor We-Doreshaw* and I. Halevy's *Dorot ha-Rishonim*) to recent scholars, prominent among whom are Julius Kaplan, the author of the justly renowned "The Redaction of the Babylonian Talmud," and the author of the work under review, who is probably the foremost living authority in this field.

Weiss has published a number of books and articles on this theme, the results of which are summarized and elaborated on in this work. Weiss is essentially a talmudist's talmudist. *Le-heqer ha-Talmud* can only be fully appreciated by experts capable of examining the thousands of passages, quoted with astonishing erudition. For this reason it is more than a little difficult to convey the essence of the work in English. However, Weiss's investigations are so novel and so important that an attempt is made here to sketch the more significant of them.

The work is divided into five parts. Part I deals with the fascinating question of the "fictitious *sugya*." A *sugya* is generally in the nature of a discussion, in which contending scholars are mentioned by name. Are the names of the disputants authentic, i.e. is the *sugya* a report (with elaborations) of a discussion which actually took

place, or are the names fictitious and the *sugya* a later composition in which differing views are conveyed by the device of placing them in the mouths of imaginary contestants? Or is it possible that both authentic and fictitious controversies are to be found? Weiss is undoubtedly correct in stating that the majority of *sugyas*, in which the names of many different scholars are mentioned, have their origin in actual debates. There would have been far less circumstantial detail and a far greater economy of names if *all* the *sugyas* were fictitious. But, not content with this, the author takes issue with the Tosafists (B.B. 154b, s.v. *b'ram*; Bekh. 4b, s.v. *'ela*; Yeb. 35b, s.v. *kule 'alma*; Nidd. 24a, s.v. *'amar*) and argues that there is not the slightest evidence that *any sugya* is fictitious.

This is not to say that the disputants always conducted their debates in each other's presence; the Talmud abounds in reports of scholars "bringing" teachings from one master to another and from one school to another. Still less is it to say that the *sugya* as we know it has not been "re-touched." Weiss is convinced that the Talmud is a *literary* work, in which the raw material of the debates has been thoroughly refashioned. The Talmud has been called (by Herbert Loewe in his Foreword to D. Wright's *The Talmud*, Lond., 1932, p. 10) the "Hansard" of the discussions. This is inexact: there is more to the *sugya* than a plain report. A better analogy would be the account of a parliamentary debate by a literary historian like Froude or Macaulay. In fact, as the reviewer has tried to demonstrate (in the *Journal of Jewish*

Studies, Vol. III, No. 4, 1952, "Evidence of Literary Device in the Babylonian Talmud," pp. 157-161), the redactors not only gave the discussions literary form, they, at times, even recast them so as to produce such effects as a sense of climax by withholding a vital piece of information until the end of the *sugya*. If this is correct, an even better illustration would be the historical novel, where events which actually happened have been embellished for dramatic purposes.

Part II deals with the complicated problem of statements attributed to either a Tannaitic or Amoraic source (with the formula: "So-and-so said, and others say it was taught in a Baraitha"); or those attributed to *both* sources ("So-and-so said, and it was taught also in a Baraitha"); or where an Amoraic statement is supported in the *sugya* by a quotation from an identical, or, at least, similar, statement in a Baraitha. Who was really responsible for the statement quoted? How did one and the same statement come to be attributed to sources between which there was a gap of centuries? It is surely stretching the hand of coincidence too far to suggest that in so many cases an Amora and a Baraitha gave expression to the same opinion in almost identical terms. (Though Weiss does not deny that this may have happened on occasion).

I. H. Weiss (*Dor*, II, p. 215), partly as a result of this difficulty, goes so far as to suspect the authenticity of every Baraitha quoted in the Babylonian Talmud; regarding it as axiomatic that the Babylonian Amoraim did not scruple to fictitiously attribute their own opinions

to the Tannaim in order to endow them with authority, and, conversely, to plagiarize Tannaitic sources in quoting Tannaitic teachings as their own! Our author considers this to be an unwarranted aspersion on the integrity of the Babylonian teachers. His solution of the problem is to suggest that in the literary atmosphere of the Babylonian schools it often happened that a Tannaitic saying was so frequently quoted and commented upon by an Amora that in the course of time it became virtually identified with him; much as one to-day might speak of Shaw's doctrine of creative evolution even though Shaw did not attempt to hide his indebtedness to Bergson's *élan vital*. (A good example of this kind of identification, in an earlier period, is the "saying" of Samuel the Younger in 'Aboth IV. 19, which is no more than a direct quotation of Prov. xxiv, 17, 18. Cf. the treatment of "unacknowledged" quotations in the Biblical literature, in Robert Gordis's *Koheleth—The Man And His World*, N.Y., 1955, Chapter XII, p. 95f. and notes). In the later process of redaction, the statement was attributed to *either* the Tanna or Amora or to *both* the Tanna and Amora.

The composition of the *memra* is the subject of Part III. In addition to original *memras*, there are those derived from other sayings or from decisions rendered. It must not be assumed that the whole of a *memra*, as we have it, is original. In most cases two distinct strata can be recognised—the original text and the later comment, e.g. "So-and-so said . . . ." (text), "What is the reason? Because . . . ." (comment).



(Weiss, not too happily, calls these the "Mishnah" and the "Gemara" of the *memra*). That the comment on the "text" is generally of a later date than the text itself can be seen, among other things, from the fact that occasionally more than one comment is given on the same text (cf. B.Q. 56b. B.M. 5b, Qidd. 44b, B.B. 148b).

Parts IV and V deal with variants in the texts of the *memra* and of the sources on which the *memra* is based. These are not to be confused with *post-talmudic* textual criticism i.e. with attempts at establishing a correct talmudic text. From numerous passages it is clear that there are variants of Amoraic statements in the *Talmud* itself. A careful and detailed analysis of these is given together with speculations as to how they came about.

The most important of the appendices is that refuting the views of I. Halevy and Julius Kaplan on the redaction of the *Talmud*. Weiss's own view that the *Gemara* process of interpretation began right at the beginning of the Amoraic period and that our *Talmud* is the product of an accumulation of layers of such interpretations, is expounded at length in his other works and is here mentioned only indirectly. So too his disagreement with the traditional view that R. Ashi was the redactor of the Babylonian *Talmud*. It is a pity that Weiss does not give a summary of his views. It is clear that he looks upon the *Talmud* as a literary work and would not accept the widely held view that it was not committed to writing until the Saboraic period (see H. Strack's *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, E.T., Philadelphia, 1945,

pp. 18-19). But it would have been helpful if this, and Weiss's position in general, had been more emphatically stated. As it is we are left with the impression that everything is still very much "in the air" and that the problems so admirably delineated still await their solution. Be that as it may, no serious student of the *Talmud* can afford to neglect this work. Its scope, originality and comprehensiveness assure it of an honoured place in any talmudic library.

L. JACOBS

H. THURSTON, *Surprising Mystics*, 1955, pp. ix+238. (Burns & Oates, 18s.).

YEKUTHIEL Y. GREENWALD, *ha-Rav R. Joseph Karo u-zemano*, New York, 1954, pp. 236 (Philipp Feldheim, \$4).

H. L. GORDON, *The Maggid of Caro: The Mystic Life of the Eminent Codifier Joseph Caro as Revealed in his Secret Diary*. Based on unpublished MSS., with 182 illustrations, New York 1949, pp. 396. (Pardes Publ. House).

The surprises which mysticism holds in store extend beyond its adepts to its students and even to readers of books on mysticism. The late Father Thurston, whose name is associated mainly with his investigations of the occult and even strange physical phenomena (poltergeists etc.) accompanying certain forms of spirituality, has published, at various dates, short essays on a number of the less "respectable" and more eccentric cases of sanctity. These have now been collected and posthumously edited by Father Crehan. Fr. Thurston takes us through the histories of Christina of Stommeln, Margery Kempe of

Lynn, Katharina Emmerich, Eustochium of Padua and many more with his usual combination of reverence and sense of the mystery on the one hand and robust, even quizzical commonsense on the other. It goes without saying that by an odd coincidence the cases which fail to stand up to his critical examination are also those from which the formal recognition of the Church has been withheld! The non-theological student of mysticism may be slightly amused at the theological intellectualism with which the inspirational quality of mystical phenomena is discussed or at the use of the heavy terminological artillery of "natural," "supernatural," "preternatural" and the like. Nevertheless the reader will appreciate that at least an honest if intellectualized attempt is made to do justice to the bewildering complexity of psychological and "psychical" phenomena. The possibility is squarely recognized that even in cases of saintly and heroic virtue, the personal unconscious may come in and play all sorts of awkward tricks.

It is precisely this awareness of the complexity of psycho-mystical phenomena which is sorely lacking from the late Rabbi L. Greenwald's *Life and Times of R. Joseph Karo*. It should be said at once that it is doing a grave injustice to the author to discuss his book at all in connection with mysticism, since its main purpose is to prove (in the wake of David Cassel and Rosanes) that Karo was an honourable man and to exonerate him from the responsibility for the perplexing *Maggid Mesharim* (henceforward *M.M.*); cf. *Introd.* pp. 6-15. The author's acumen and accuracy, a

real asset to his study, turn out to be a liability once they are let loose upon the realities and possibilities of the psyche. This is not to deny that a strong case can be made out for a non-Karoite origin of the *M.M.*, but it is obvious that the author's methods are not likely to establish this contention. The fact that the *Maggid's* prophecies were not fulfilled, the contradictions to Karo's known writings and to traditional *halakhah* in general (which are, incidentally, less serious and frequent than the author suggests), the unkind remarks about certain colleagues—all these seem to bear out the authenticity of the document rather than the contrary, once one is prepared to admit the compensatory character of the manifestations of the unconscious. The argument that the *M.M.* must be false because the book is written in (Zoharic pseudo-) Aramaic, whereas we know, on the authority of the Talmud, that angels and celestial spirits do not use Aramaic, makes one yearn for categories such as natural, supernatural and preternatural. For the author the only alternatives seem to be genuine revelation (which is excluded by the facts), manifestation of the unconscious (which would cast a slur on Karo's character and is therefore impossible), and fraud (which must therefore be the case). One really important suggestion is made which, if followed up, could have yielded a valuable enquiry; alas, it has not been followed up and remains a mere *obiter dictum*: the author contends that the first and second parts of the *M.M.* can be shown, on internal evidence, to be by different hands.

There is not much room for

originality for a writer on the life and times of Karo. Since Karo's life hardly provides enough material for a full-length biography, the story has of necessity to be padded out by details (very useful ones, at that) about his contemporaries. Still, the author's survey is full and adequate and he may really have found the solution to an old puzzle: where could Karo have studied as a pupil of Jacob Berab? In Portugal Karo would have been too young, in Safed too old. The author suggests Egypt where, according to his reading of the evidence, Karo must have stayed sometime between 1511-18. Rosanes very properly comes in for frequent criticism.

H. L. Gordon's *The Maggid of Caro* is disappointing from all points of view: historical, psychological, mystical. In fairness to the author and publisher it should be said that they have done their best to frighten prospective readers off the book. The author, an army psychiatrist, is introduced as holding six doctorates and four Master's degrees (!) in practically all imaginable subjects. To shake our confidence even more, the book is prefaced by the "Comments" of about a dozen correspondents, not one of which is a Judaistic (let alone kabbalistic) scholar and only one a Semitic scholar. Fairness requires me to add that although Prof. Einstein wrote a letter to the author (it is not really a comment on or an introduction to the book), he himself had enough good sense never to ask psychiatrists to preface his mathematical works. The subtitle describes the *M.M.* as Karo's secret diary, although the book has gone through about a dozen editions. An interesting semantic

point is raised by the author's ref. to "four rare MSS." which he has used. It may safely be left to experts to decide what exactly makes a MS. "rare," but the author would have done well to mention at least the existence of other MSS. (Bodleian, Sassoon) than the four at the Jewish Theol. Seminary in New York. The 182 illustrations (often bad and awkward insets) include the author's father (because as an orthodox Rabbi he made use of the *Shulhan 'Arukh*); some recent *Rashey Yeshiboth* (because Karo's works are studied by Talmudists), Vasco da Gama (because he used the *Almanach Perpetuum* by Zacuto, who was also a Spanish Jew); the synagogue of Toledo (because Karo was born there); the Emperor Trajan (because he founded Nicopolis where Karo lived for some time); Bruell, Geiger, Graetz, Schechter etc. (because they wrote on Karo); Yehudah Liva of Prague, Elijah of Vilna, Virgil, Roger Bacon, Thomas Aquinas etc. (because they were reputed to have created a *golem*); Socrates, Paracelsus etc. (because they had a *maggid*!); Alfassi, Maimonides, Asher etc. (because they were also codifiers of Rabbinic law); St. Francis, St. Theresa, Joan of Arc, Richelieu, Descartes, Swedenborg, Napoleon, Byron etc. (because they received messages from the beyond); Beethoven, Wagner, Maupassant, Oscar Wilde, Nietzsche, Gogol etc. (because they had psychotic episodes) and so forth.

However, a reviewer must not allow himself to be daunted by this farrago of nonsense and irrelevancies. What remains when these are discounted is little enough. The historical and biographical material

is that supplied by the standard histories and encyclopaedias. The discussion of the authenticity of the *M.M.* does not make the slightest contribution but merely repeats what Basilea (*Emunath Hakhamim*) and others have already said. An analysis of the book is nowhere attempted. It should be borne in mind that the *M.M.* is a kabbalistic text with incidental personal matter in it and not an autobiographical diary. So far the favourite method of writers on the *M.M.* has been the isolation and discussion of the few autobiographical passages, whilst ignoring the rest which, presumably, they could not understand. Altogether the author seems to be happier where he can let his imagination run free than where kabbalistic knowledge and textual analysis are necessary. A good and also very characteristic example is the analysis (p. 211) of the "Political Prophecy on Turkey and Russia" in the *M.M.*, end of the portion *Mishpatim*. Gordon interprets **הַשֵּׁר קַצְקוֹנִי** (actually the superior reading is **קַצְקוֹנִי**) and his consort **צַרְעִיתָא** to refer to the Czar and his wife. He is even kind enough to add, lest we forget, that Czar is derived from "Caesar." But he does not explain why they should be **מַקְטַרְנִים** against Karo with all their heart. Even his utterly wrong translation "conspire against you" instead of "accuse you" does not help much. The answer is, of course, that **קַצְקוֹנִי** or **קַקְפּוֹנִי** and his consort are well known in kabbalistic literature as princes of demons. **קַקְפּוֹנִי** occurs in many kabbalistic texts and has been fully discussed by Scholem and others. **קַצְקוֹנִי** and **צַרְעִיתָא** are also

mentioned as a pair by Karo's friend and disciple Cordovero (*Pardes Rimmonim*, **שַׁעַר הַיְכָלִי הַתְּמוּרִים**). Greenwald at least contented himself with complaining that **קַצְקוֹנִי** was unknown. Whereas this example is illustrative of the ignorance and dilettantish irresponsibility with which the author treats his text, the imaginary speech put into the *Maggid's* mouth at Karo's death is merely an instance of poor taste. The mournful desolation of 16th century kabbalistic Safed is contrasted with the brighter atmosphere of Safed in 20th century Israel, with its cinemas, workers' clubs and the aroma of orange trees. Orange trees in Upper Galilee! But Palestinian geography, like Kabbalah, seems to be unnecessary as an auxiliary discipline for writers on the *M.M.*

The book simply swarms with inaccuracies and mistakes which raise serious doubts whether the author has really consulted the sources he quotes. Thus he refers to Rosanes, *Dibre Yeme Israel Beto-garmah* (Devir, 1930), although in this the second ed. only vol. i was published, whereas Rosane's chapters on Karo and the *M.M.* are to be found in vol. ii which appeared only in the 1st ed. The second ed. of the *M.M.* (Venice 1654) is not the first complete edition (pp. 113 and 114) but merely prints the supplementary material furnished by Elisha Ashkenazi. The first complete ed. is Amsterdam 1708. The author states that he used ed. Piotrkow 1929 "because it is the most complete . . . text of the Diary" (p. 115). In point of fact it is the worst, abounding in misprints and with many essential passages either left out or bowdler-



ized. The "intimate statement" quoted p. 116 from one of the New York MSS. can be found in all the printed edd. except Piotrkow 1929! Isaiah Hurwitz, the *Shelah*, never dreamed of Karo but merely reported someone else's dream. After a while it becomes tedious to go on recording the author's howlers.

The fourth part of the book, "Dynamics," seems especially designed as a cold shower for all those who have hoped against hope that psychiatry might have a serious contribution to make to the understanding of mystical phenomena. A parody of anamnesis, "personality profile" etc. is followed by a parade of possible diagnoses: asthenias, psychosis, paranoia, and by an irrelevant comparison with the celebrated Schreber case. Fortunately Dr. Gordon's opus is typical of neither Judaistic nor of psychological scholarship. It is merely typical of itself.

Z.W.

BRUNO BETTELHEIM, *Symbolic Wounds: Puberty Rites and the Envious Male*, 1955, pp. 286 (Thames & Hudson, 25s.).

Professor Bettelheim, a practising psychiatrist and head of a psychiatric institution, suggests that anthropologists and psycho-analysts may err in their belief that circumcision and allied initiation rites were imposed by the elders on the young or that their sole function is in connection with castration fears, Oedipus complexes or with the passage to adult society. Observation of neurotic and psychotic children revealed startling analogies to certain initiation rites and put the author on the track of a new ex-

planation. Parallel to the female penis-envy there exists a profound male envy of the creative female capacity to give birth. Circumcision, subincision, transvestism, couvade etc. are male attempts to imitate female characteristics.

This point of view is certainly valuable up to a point, even if it is not quite as new as the author seems to believe. Already Thurnwald and others explained subincision as an attempt to gain bi-sexuality, but one may well query the extension of this explanation to circumcision proper. It may be doubted, moreover, whether any one explanation really serves to account for the whole range of phenomena. Religious symbols (both ritual and mythological) are susceptible of more than one valid interpretation, and any psychological account must be preceded by a fuller understanding of the functional context in which a particular rite is found to operate at a given moment in a given society. Male envy is an undoubted fact; it influences behaviour. It may play a part in initiation ritual at certain levels and in certain societies. But it is clearly inadequate for a large number of initiation ceremonies, if only for the simple reason that even within one and the same society the function and significance of a given rite is changed and transformed in course of time (cf. e.g. J. Layard, *Stonemen of Malekula*. Vao, 1942). A good example is the extraordinary function of circumcision among the Galla. For biblical circumcision, even in its more primitive and archaic levels (*Ex.* 4: 24-6), the explanation is hopelessly inadequate, as is clearly shown by F. Sierksma's careful analysis of the phenomenological levels of the rite

(in *Oud Testamentische Studien*, ix, 1951, pp. 136-69) and Prof. Bettelheim has wisely left the Bible outside his purview.

Sometimes the ceremonies reflect and "cathartize" real tensions between males and females, but these tensions are not necessarily the primary, sexual or biological ones imagined by the psycho-analysts, (cf. e.g. M. Gluckman, "The Role of the Sexes in Wiko Circumcision Ceremonies" in *Social Structure*, ed. M. Fortes, 1949, pp. 145-67). The author's comparative method of second-hand anthropological data cannot escape the charge of selectiveness; neither the reader nor, probably, the author himself is aware of the amount of contrary evidence. Also the methodological assumption (characteristic of most work done by psychological analysts) of similarity between the mental processes of children, psychopaths and primitives is too unquestioning and ought to be scientifically re-examined.

The author is first and foremost a Freudian; hence his long-winded, apologetic excursions when presuming to differ from the Great Master. To non-Freudians (and even to Freudians sensible enough to view Freud's incursions into anthropology and biblical history as lamentable aberrations of a great psychologist) these apologies are rather tiresome and Prof. Bettelheim seems to waste much time flogging dead horses. None the less, the author's modesty, good sense and keen awareness of the tentative nature of his proposed explanations make his book profitable and pleasant reading, in spite of the unnecessary affectation of substituting an "Introitus" and "Envoy"

for the more usual and pedestrian "Introduction" and "Conclusion."  
Z.W.

C. J. BLEEKER (ed.), *Anthropologie Religieuse: L'homme et sa destinée à la lumière de l'histoire de religions*. Leiden (Brill), 1955, pp. 189.

This is a curiously inconclusive symposium, in spite of the sound scholarship and good will that went into its making. Judging from the fifteen contributions to this supplement-volume to *Numen*, it appears that the great philosophical question of the day, man's understanding of himself, has singularly little to gain from the study of the concepts of man as implicit in the great religions. This may partly be due to the reticence of most contributors to venture beyond the bare, descriptive stage of their subject. Nowhere is there any sign of an awareness of the crucial point where the phenomenological understanding of the data of the history of religions prolongs itself into the *projet* of a philosophical anthropology. In fact, the problem has not been taken up again since F. Sierksma's brilliant *Phaenomenologie der Religie en Complexe Psychologie*, 1950. Still, it is a useful handbook, bringing together the ideas concerning man, his constitution and his destiny in some primitive societies (van Baren), Greece (Gernèt), India (J. Filliozat), old China (H. O. H. Stange), Iran (Duchesne-Guillemin) and among the old Norsemen (Bishop Ljungberg). The reader will be grateful to J. Sainte Fare Garnot for a clear and lucid chapter on Egypt and to F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl for a careful assessment of the Babylonian

evidence. H. Schlier, following in the trail blazed by H. Jonas, gives an account of Gnostic anthropology by making much use of existential vocabulary, but confines himself to the Naasenes. E. Frauwallner sums up the present state of studies on the intricate and confusing problems of Buddhist anthropology. It is a pity that his essay is particularly poorly supplied with bibliographical references; one misses especially a reference to Herbert Günther, *Das Seelenproblem im älteren Buddhismus*. Miss A. Schimmel's chapter on Islam is mainly concerned with the psychology of the medieval Arabic philosophers and with Sufism. G. Pidoux's contribution, a summary of his recent book *L'Homme dans l'Ancien Testament*, covers ground already familiar to readers of Wheeler Robinson a.o. (in spite of some differences in detail). Prof. Sevenster, writing on the N.T., vigorously repudiates the notion that Mk. 8: 36 betrays a Platonic appreciation of the dignity of the soul. *Psyche* undoubtedly means "life" in the context; cf. also Lk. 9: 25 where *heauton* is substituted for it. The symposium is opened by R. Pettazoni ("La condition humaine") and concluded by its editor, Prof. Bleeker of Amsterdam, with an attempt to provide a typological classification of religious anthropologies.

Z.W.

R. PETTAZONI, *The All-Knowing God: Researches into early Religion and Culture*. Transl. by H. J. Rose, 1956, pp. xv + 475. (Methuen, 60s.).

The omniscience of God as a philosophical and theological concept has kept Jewish and Gentile

thinkers busy for many centuries. In more recent times anthropologists and students of religion got interested in the subject in connection with the problem of the so-called *Urmonotheismus*. Do (or did) primitive peoples know of all-knowing gods? Prof. Pettazoni has given us a really important and exemplary study on divine attributes. Important because it marshals an enormous amount of material and practically covers the whole globe inch by inch. Exemplary because it shows how a "comparative religionist" tackles such a problem without theological or metaphysical strings and categories. The author demonstrates that the attribute of omniscience is neither due to reflection or theological insight, nor is it inherent in monotheism or "higher" religion as such. It is an organic part of a particular conception of the deity and belongs to the sky-god, the sun, or—at any rate—a "seeing" god. Seeing here does not mean seeing all things, but primarily watching man and his actions. God's knowledge is not contemplative; on the contrary, there is often a punitive sanction attached to it. It is, in fact, clear that God sees, i.e. knows, because he takes a watchful interest in a group of mortals and not the other way round. This differentiates the "seeing" sort of omniscience from the more properly "knowing" kind. The latter is the magic or oracular ("dark") sort of knowledge enjoyed by certain animals, spirits, the dead (or gods of the underworld) and the earth-gods. A major goddess like Demeter may be ignorant as to the whereabouts of her lost daughter, but Helios,

though a minor god, knows everything.

It is interesting to note the effects of this phenomenological approach on certain theories that depend on "literary" or "historical" criteria. Pettazoni very properly begins his short chapter on omniscience in the O.T. with Ps. 139, but observes that a wakeful, avenging, "jealous" God is obviously a God who knows what is going on. A proper understanding of the particular and well-defined ideological complex which makes up the figure of YHVH automatically disposes of such scholarly "discoveries" as e.g. that divine omniscience first appears with the Prophets or that the sky as YHVH's abode is post-exilic. The idea of YHVH dwelling in heaven and seeing (i.e. knowing) what happens on earth is essential and original to Hebrew religion: only such a God gives or withholds rain, sends a Deluge and acts as the judge of individuals or nations. An important epilogue discusses the relation of sky-gods to the structure of the societies in which they are evolved viz. recognised.

Z.W.

J. LEIPOLDT and S. MORENZ, *Heilige Schriften. Betrachtungen zur Religionsgeschichte der antiken Mittelmeerwelt*. VEB Otto Harassowitz, Leipzig, 1953, pp. 217 (with 14 plates).

Holy texts or scriptures are among the "phenomena" which religion produces and it is therefore appropriate that the phenomenology of religion should attempt a comprehensive analysis of their nature, significance and function. Holy scriptures are by no means a matter of course; at the beginning of his

*kephalaia* Mani already stated that the great founders (Jesus, Zarathustra, Buddha) wrote no books. This was done by their disciples. Certain forms of religion, e.g. mystery cults, almost seem to preclude holy writings. On the other extreme we have the role of the Koran in Muslim theology, the ascription of thousands of "holy" books to Thot-Hermes and the Rabbinic-Midrashic ideas on the nature of *Torah*. The N.T. scholar Leipoldt and the Egyptologist Morenz wisely limited their joint effort to the "antike Mittelmeerwelt" with whose literature and sources they have first-hand acquaintance. Their study is thus mainly concerned with Egypt, Greece, Judaism and early Christianity. The authors discuss contemporary methods, instruments and knowledge of writing; the current notions about the origin of writing in general and of the holy texts in particular; the conception of a number of texts as a unit (cf. "Scripture says" and the more modern attempts at re-affirming the "unity of the Bible") and the problems involved in fixing a canonical text or canonical translations. There are valuable chapters on the relation between aesthetic and theological evaluations of scriptures (e.g. the notion already current in Greece that the more barbaric utterances of uncivilized peoples are more "divine"), on the duty of public reading or, alternatively, secrecy in connection with scriptures, on reading in the home, on the treatment of holy books, on problems of interpretation and finally on their use as magic charms. No mention is made of the use of the Bible and other sacred scriptures for purposes



of divination and oracling. Interpretations of Rabbinic accounts or sayings are often erroneous and misleading. Yet it is a valuable study containing a wealth of information.

Z.W.

DAVID SULAIMAN SASSOON **מסע בבבל** Translated with notes and introduction by M. Benayahu. Illustrated. Azriel Press. Jerusalem 1955. 302 pp. I.L. 4,800.

SALMAN ŞIYYON SHINA **מבבל לציון** *Reminiscences and Opinions*. Illustrated. Published by the author. Tel Aviv 1955. 222 pp. I.L. 4,000.

ḤAHAM YOSEF ḤAYYIM **נפלאים מעשיך** Second edition of a collection of 164 stories first published in Jerusalem in 1912 with a brief biographical memoir and notes compiled by the late Ben-Şiyyon Mordecai Ḥazzan. Baqqal Press. Jerusalem 1955. pp. 258. I.L. 1,800.

The first of these works, a Hebrew version of the diary kept by the late David Sassoon during his Mesopotamian journey of 1901-1911 provided a delightful opportunity to retrace one's steps in a mental pilgrimage to the shrines of the "Three Priests"—Ezekiel, Ezra and Joshua the High Priest—in the company of an eager, kindly and scholarly guide. His narrative constitutes a valuable source of material for the study of the conditions of the Babylonian community during the last decades of Ottoman rule. The growth of secularization, for instance, is revealed in his account of an unintended visit to the school of the Alliance Israelite in Hillah, where he found a bearded and turbaned Ḥaham giving religious

instruction to a class of bare-headed boys (p. 152). Unfortunately, the editor, who is clearly a competent translator, was inadequately equipped with historical and linguistic knowledge for his task. His spelling of Judæo-Arabic is phonetical throughout; from his list of Jewish visitors to Bagdad during the 19th century, he omits Obermayer, whose work is of far greater value than those of all the others combined; and, believe it or not, he actually refers in a note to "Ali ibn al-Khaṭṭab" (p. 118). There are also a number of printing mistakes. All this, however, while irritating, does not detract from the value and charm of the diary.

Shina, now an Israeli lawyer, has been an officer in the Ottoman army, a successful Baghdadi lawyer and a member of the Iraqi Chamber of Deputies. His reminiscences of his youth also illustrate the impact of the Alliance Israelite on the community and, in the course of his biography, he provides detailed information—now almost inaccessible elsewhere—regarding the activities of Iraqi Jewish religious, educational, philanthropic, medical and social institutions and organizations. The unique character of this work, the first autobiography of an Oriental Jewish product of the Enlightenment, will ensure its use by future historians; one, therefore, feels obliged to point out that his account of the events leading to the emigration of the overwhelming majority of the community is at variance with those given verbally to this reviewer by other participants in them.

The third work is a reprint of a collection of the stories related by the last great rabbinical personality

of Baghdad in the course of his sermons. Some of them are derived from a variety of foreign Jewish and non-Jewish sources while others represent the preacher's efforts, often witty, ingenious and entertaining, to remedy tendencies prevalent among his audience. The report that a notable of the city had condemned the practice of attracting large gatherings to the synagogue to listen to sermons in the heat of a Baghdad summer when they might be more usefully and healthily employed in deriving information about the world through reading the newspapers in their homes, reflects the spirit of earlier secularist penetration of a traditional society in the last quarter of the previous century. Needless to say, it provoked a powerful response.

The recent publication of these books in Israel after decades during which little of specifically Jewish interest had appeared in Baghdad, is of almost as much interest as their contents. It confirms other indications of a growing pride in their origins on the part of Iraqi Jews, who, in their native land, had been attracted more by a Western future than by an Eastern past. One might, perhaps, suggest that the cult of a vanished Eastern European Jewish society, which has recently gained popularity not only within the State of Israel, has begotten a similar devotion to an Oriental Jewish past that has been dissolved less brutally but almost as thoroughly.

E. MARMORSTEIN.

ELIE KEDORIE, *England and the Middle East. The Destruction of the Ottoman Empire (1914-21)* 236 pp. Bowes & Bowes, 1956.

This penetrating examination of the part played by Britain in the division of the Ottoman Empire after the first World War revolves around the Sykes Picot Agreement. Unlike most of the historians who have attempted to deal with this period, Mr. Kedorie has made ample but cautious use of Arabic historical works and autobiographical memoirs as well as of the published and unpublished writings of the main British participants in Middle Eastern affairs during and after the war years. The evidence which he has meticulously interpreted, exposes the falsehood of a number of allegations—some of them so familiar that they are now almost taken for granted—and indicates that the failure to implement the Agreement by the victorious allies after the war was due largely to a revolutionary turn on the part of some of the more influential British officials involved—inspired in many but not in all cases by hatred of France—from the ideal of good government to that of self government. His analysis of the actions and motives of, for instance, Sir Mark Sykes, T. E. Lawrence, and Getrude Bell makes fascinating reading and traces their mental courses in convincing fashion. His apparent failure to lay sufficient stress on the war-weariness of the people of Britain, which, under the threat of widespread mutiny, led to a form of demobilization resembling a stampede back to civilian life rather than an organised operation, and the no less urgent clamour on the part of Government supporters for economies, can be defended. For, in defiance of the prevalent delusion that political conduct is rigidly governed by economic

factors, he boldly insists that the weakening of the will undermines the means to rule.

Stimulating and informative, strikingly original in scope, treatment and thought, this moving account of the background of the political settlement of the Arabic-speaking areas, will appeal to the ordinary reader as well as to specialists. For the implications to be derived from it are of far greater significance than the story so competently related. Among them are: that the relationship between a Western power and a Middle Eastern state depends less on emotional memories and attitudes than on the international pre-occupations of the former and the rivalries within the latter: that beliefs in the importance of self-realization through action and in the ennobling effect of experience of the beauties of art and nature provide inadequate moral equipment for those faced with the task of shaping political destinies; and that the hopes and feelings of the human beings who have been victims of the policy of fragmentation of traditional pluralist societies of Europe and of Asia, have been habitually ignored by doctrinaire enthusiasts for experiment and by those who support their efforts in academic disguise. For them Mr. Kedoorie's book should administer a salutary shock.

E. MARMORSTEIN.

G. BARRACLOUGH, *History in a Changing World VIII*, 246 pp. Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1955, 18s.

The fifteen articles collected in this book with bibliographical footnotes offer stimulating reflections on

the value of historical understanding for the life of individual and society in our age. The reader is encouraged to examine in this context the assumptions which shaped both the classical historiography of the nineteenth century and the thought of its more recent critics. The dilemma which may arise from the fact that liberation from the "ivory tower" may entangle the historian in mere propaganda serving the political currents of the day is sternly faced. The ideological use of ideas like "continuity of European tradition" or "the mediaeval order of society" during the post-war decade is the main topic of the author's critical endeavour. Against such temptation genuine universalism is recommended as the best protection; the most complete freedom from national or regional preoccupation will bring the historian nearest to "a conception of the past which is valid for the present." But there is no intention to proclaim a consistent theory of history or elaborate a programme for future work.

The confession of adherence to Spengler's cyclic theory of history and his "amor fati" formulated on the concluding pages as an epilogue and personal opinion does in no way determine the main trend of the author's investigation. Prof. Barraclough has written a specialist's challenge to his own craft, because experience taught him its deficiency. He had started his work of research in the Vatican archives, where the papal administration of the Western Church during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was his subject. From such beginnings his interest turned to problems of the constitutional structure of society in

the feudal age. He was one of the pioneers who were not satisfied with the conventional restriction of such research by a regional or national framework and aimed at a comparative history of institutions in Western and Central Europe. The second World War, which left Russia and the United States as heirs to the European concert of powers, revealed the fact that work on such lines does not lead to a real understanding of the present world. For B. no European history can be valid to-day in which America and Russia do not form an integral part. In principle there is no difference in his emphasis between the two wings of the new historical picture; but in the discussions of the book, Russia with her mediaeval pre-history in Byzantium and the Slavonic world has the honour of place. Judaism is touched on occasionally—the idea of progress in nineteenth century thought is traced back to its Biblical origin—but the relevance of the book to Jewish studies seems to lie elsewhere. The problem of the relation of post-Biblical Judaism to Western civilization, which is certainly both fundamental and complicated, has been dealt with rather dogmatically by the Fathers of modern Jewish Learning who were Ranke's contemporaries. The experience of our days and the broader view of European history which B. aims to promote may both help to bring about a penetrating re-assessment of this basic question.

HANS LIEBESCHÜTZ.

*Australian Biblical Review*. Vol. iv, 1954-55. vii + 140 pp. Price £1. (Published by the Fellowship for Biblical Studies in conjunction

with the Department of Semitic Studies, University of Melbourne).

This volume of the *Review*, which is a double issue for 1954-1955, contains a number of contributions which will be of interest to readers of this Journal. Four of them are offered by Professor Goldman. The first, a report of the meeting of the International Organization of Old Testament Scholars held in Copenhagen in 1953, calls for no special remark. The second is concerned with the Hebrew root רנע. Starting from a biliteral root רנ, Professor Goldman arrives at the primary meaning "trembling, shaking" for רנע. Accordingly, the proposed emendation ברנו for ברנע in Is. liv. 7 is unnecessary, since both רנו and רנע are extensions of the primary root רנ. The phrase רנע הים in Is. li. 15, Jer. xxxi. 35, and Job xxvi. 12 means "stirs (i.e. makes tremble) the sea." In Jer. xxxi. 2 להרניעו is to be translated "to its tribulation," i.e. "to its unrest," and the sense "disquiet" is the meaning of the root in Jer. i. 34 and xlix. 19 (cp. i. 44). In Is. li. 4 ארניע means "I shall issue" ("make move"). The Hebrew root, Professor Goldman goes on to suggest, developed semantically from its primitive meaning "trembling, shaking" to the meaning "rage, anger, commotion." The meaning "anger" has already been referred to (in Is. liv. 7; in verse 8 רנע means "moment"). A further extension of the root produces the meaning "destruction" (as in Ps. xxx. 6)—"most probably by associating the general idea of trembling with a more limited, specific "trembling" (scil. of the earth), an 'earthquake'." This last meaning may be seen in



Lam. iv. 6, Ps. xxxv. 20, lxxiii. 19 (?), and Job xxi. 13. The occurrence of **לרנעים** as a kind of inner accusative after **וחררו** in Ezek. xxvi. 16 and xxxii. 10 is noted, and in Is. xlvii. 9 a parallelism is observed between **רנע** "catastrophe" and **כתמם** "like an annihilation."

Professor Goldman's second contribution is devoted to the Hebrew root **נקה**, which he believes originally meant "smite," like **נכה** and **נכא**, the idea of "purity, cleanliness" arising by semantic spike development, since "cleansing or purification can be, and mostly is, achieved by beating or rubbing the object to be cleaned or purified." The sense "smite" occurs in Is. xxxii. 5 and Zech. v. 3f. (or in the latter passage "wipe out"), and the sense "wipe out" is the meaning in Nah. i. 3, Exod. xxxiv. 7, Num. xiv. 18, Jer. xxx. 10f., xlv. 28, and Joel iv. 21. In Am. iv. 6 **נקיון שנים** means "wiping out," i.e. disappearance, falling out, of teeth. In Gen. xx. 5 **נקיון כפי** can mean "the wiping of my hands," and in Ps. lxxiii. 13 **נקיון** may mean the detergent with which the hands are washed—basically "the destructor" (i.e. of the impurities).

In his fourth contribution Professor Goldman suggests that in Ps. xix. 14 **זרים** means "tyrants," **או** means "lest" (as in Ps. cxxiv. 3ff.—**אזי**), **איתם** may mean "bereaved" (root **יתם**), and **נקה** means "wipe out." In Ps. xix. 12 **והר** is said to mean "become careful, take heed," and **עקב** is translated here, and in Ps. cxix. 33, "consistently." In Ps. lxix. 5 **עצם** means "sue, bring a law-suit" (cp. Is. xli. 21). And lastly, **תרבתי**

in Hos. xi. 3 is compared with the Arabic *ra jala* and is given the meaning "suckle," while **רפאתים** is translated "I strengthened them."

Not all that Professor Goldman has to offer is new. But he is always interesting and frequently ingenious. It seems to the reviewer, however, that he does not always examine sufficiently the basic meaning of the root he is discussing in the light of the cognate languages. For example, such an examination suggests that **נקה** meant originally, not "smite," but "empty out," a very different conception.

In an interesting, informative, and well documented article, L. Morris discusses the beginnings of the Passover rite as they may be seen in Rabbinic literature. He deals especially with the preparations made for the Passover, the ritual, and the significance of the Passover in Rabbinic Judaism, the latter being treated under various aspects—the piacular and redemptive, the representative and the community aspects, and the Messianic aspect.

J. A. Thompson examines the view of S. B. Gurewicz that the golden calves set up by Jeroboam did not imply the establishment of a new cult, but were an outward symbol of national independence (see vol. vi of this Journal, 1955, p. 57). Archaeology has made it clear that Israel's neighbours represented their gods standing on bulls. Here it is suggested that Jeroboam did likewise. He did not intend to depart from the worship of Yahweh; theoretically Yahweh was still worshipped. But the new symbolism had its dangers, for Baal too was associated with a bull. The protests of the prophets show the reality of the danger. An earlier

parallel, it is suggested, may be seen in Aaron's action in casting the molten calf (Exod. xxxii). It was not his intention to persuade the people to abandon the worship of Yahweh—rather was it his intention to give them a tangible symbol. This was condemned by Moses who was more aware of the dangers inherent in religious symbols. Thompson argues his case attractively and well.

It is perhaps inevitable that a publication issued in type-script should contain errors. A list of *errata* is supplied, but there are some unfortunate errors which are not included in it. Examples are "Radt" (p. 4), "von Radt" (p. 5) for "von Rad"; "Job xxx, eight times" (p. 51) for "Job xxx, 8," and "peculiar" (p. 64) for "piacular."

D. WINTON THOMAS.

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It is a pleasure to welcome the appearance of a "sister publication," an appellation which is doubly deserved since the editors have

expressed their intention that Jewish Studies should be especially represented. It is to be hoped, however, that the new Journal will know how to avoid excessive narrowing down to Hebrew and Jewish studies so that it can fill the painful vacuum with regard to periodical publications devoted to Semitic Studies in their widest sense.

The first number has little in the way of specifically Jewish Studies. Of the three full-length articles, the first, by L. Koehler, deals with "Problems in the Study of the Language of the O.T." Otto Eissfeldt, on *El and Yahweh*, discusses the merging of the two cults and the absorption by the latter of certain characteristics of *El*. Prof. J. Robson gives a detailed account of the Transmission of Nasa's *Sunan*. A short note by D. Daube and R. Yaron on "Jacob's Reception by Laban" is followed by about 30 pp. of book reviews of rather unequal competence and value. The number is introduced by the editors who also pay tribute to Mr. I. Wolfson's generosity, and concludes with a list of Journals and books received. Best wishes for the *JSS*: *vivat crescat*.

Z.W.

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The following Papers were read at the Monday Research Seminars during the Summer Term 1956:

Rabbi Dr. A. ALTMANN: "Franz Rosenzweig's Concept of Redemption."

Dr. R. J. Z. WERBLOWSKY: "Aspects of R. Joseph Karo's Theology."

Dr. A. SHARF (Liverpool): "Some Sources for the History of Byzantine Jewry."

Mr. J. G. WEISS, M.A.: "Paradoxical Contemplation in Early Hasidism."

Dr. S. STEIN (Head, Hebrew Department, University College, London): "The Pesach Haggadah and its Relation to the Literary form of Symposia Literature."

Dr. S. M. STERN (Oxford): "The Literary sources of the philosophical chapters in Abraham bar Hasdai's 'Prince and Dervish.'"

Dr. H. LIEBESCHUTZ (Reader, Department of History, Liverpool University): "The Position of Jewry in the Carolingian Civilisation."

Professor D. DAUBE (Regius Professor of Civil Law, Oxford): "Rabbinic Judaism and the New Testament: Some Questions of Method."

Mr. A. RUBINSTEIN, LL.M.: "Observations on the Slavonic Version of Josephus' Wars."

Mr. D. PATTERSON, M.A. (Lecturer, Manchester University): "The Portrayal of Hasidism in the 19th Century Hebrew Novel."



## SOCIETY FOR JEWISH STUDY

ON NOVEMBER 2, 1956—Marheshvan 28, 5717, our teacher and master, Rabbi Dr. Leo Baeck, was called to the Academy on High. At this time of bereavement we recall the rabbinic dictum about the search for eternal truth: "Scholars know no rest, either in this world or in the world to come, for it is said, 'They go from strength to strength till they appear before God in Zion'." For ourselves, we cannot but grieve that he, who was the beloved President and Principal of our Society throughout its existence, should not have lived to participate in next year's celebration of our first decade.

The obituary tributes to Dr. Baeck which have appeared in the Jewish and general press have made mention of his unique services to our Society. The Society's own sentiments have been expressed at a special meeting of the Council, and voiced by Rabbi Dr. A. Loewenstamm at the weekly seminar. At the meeting of the Society on November 27, Rabbi Dr. W. Van der Zyl delivered a Memorial Address.

The Society has inaugurated a Leo Baeck Memorial Publication Fund, which will enable Jews of every shade of belief and opinion—and the appeal will not be limited to members of the Society—to associate themselves with the cause of Jewish learning. Full particulars will be published at the earliest opportunity. Meanwhile, the Society is determined to maintain those scholarly activities which Dr. Baeck inspired and cherished in his lifetime. **זכר צדיק לברכה**

Among recent public lectures given under the auspices of the Society have been the following:

The Rev. Dr. A. LEVENE: "Pentateuchal Exegesis in Early Syriac and Rabbinic Sources."

Dr. ROBERT GORDIS, Chairman, Board of Editors, *Judaism*, and Adjunct Professor of Religion, Columbia University: "Cultural and Religious Trends in American Jewry."

Dr. CECIL ROTH, President of the Jewish Historical Society of England: "Anglo-Jewish Scholarship, 1656-1956." This lecture was sponsored by the B'nai B'rith, First Lodge of England, in conjunction with the Society, as a special contribution to the Anglo-Jewish Tercentenary celebrations.

Hillel House, London, W.C.1. HUGH HARRIS, *Hon. Secretary*.